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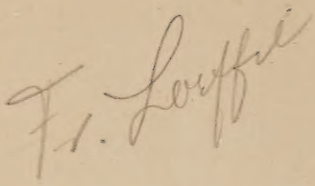

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The
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A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

Vol. I
A. D. 1–1517

"Christ before Pilate"
(From the painting by Michael Munkacsy, in the possession of the Hon. John Wanamaker.)

A GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN ERA

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME ONE

From the Beginning to the Protestant Revolt (1–1517)

A Textbook for High Schools and Colleges

BY

NICHOLAS A. WEBER, S.M., S.T.D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA AND TRINITY COLLEGE

With an Introduction by Right Reverend Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., Rector of the Catholic University of America and President of the Catholic Educational Association

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To

The Devoted and

Self-sacrificing Teachers

of the High Schools, Academies

and Colleges Affiliated with the Catholic

University of America

This Book Is

Respectfully

Dedicated

PREFACE

This book is intended to serve as a textbook for Catholic high schools and colleges. Although the complete work was planned and is to be published in two volumes, the part here given to the public is so arranged as to form a book that can be used independently of the second volume.[1]

In writing this General History the author has aimed to present a continuous and concise survey of the essential facts of the Christian era. In order to enable the teacher and student to complete the information given in the text, a general bibliography has been placed at the beginning of the book and a special bibliography appended to each chapter. It has not been deemed advisable to mention authorities in foreign languages, although the writer wishes to acknowledge here his indebtedness to some French and German works, particularly to the admirable *Histoire Générale* of Lavisse and Rambaud.

It is a pleasing duty for him to express his thanks to the Very Rev. Dr. Thomas E. Shields at whose suggestion and with whose encouragement the book was prepared, to the Right Reverend Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., for the kindly interest which, in spite of his many duties as Rector of the Catholic University, he has always taken in the progress of the work, to Professor W. R. Shepherd of Columbia University for his generous permission to reproduce maps from his valuable Historical Atlas, to Miss Helen Wright and Miss M. Elmira Bier of the Division of Prints of the Library of Congress for their repeated courtesies and services, and to other kind friends for generous help and valuable suggestions.

NICHOLAS A. WEBER.

Washington, D. C.
On the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel
July 16, 1919

[1] The second volume was first published in 1922; second edition, 1924.

NOTE TO SECOND EDITION

No substantial change has been made in the text of this second edition. The maps have been printed from newly engraved plates especially made for the Catholic Education Press. One additional double page map has been inserted.

THE AUTHOR.

NOTE TO SIXTH EDITION

A few minor revisions have been made in the text of this sixth edition. The bibliographies have been brought uptodate and six additional illustrations have been inserted.

THE AUTHOR.

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INTRODUCTION

To the superficial observer a history is merely a history and in the imposing and confusing array of histories which crowd our textbook shelves there would appear to be no room for another. Too many are satisfied with a textbook which garbles and even suppresses facts; which ignores the true religion of Christ, and belittles or ridicules the Catholic Church, its institutions and its accomplishments. An atheistic, anti-christian, or purely materialistic interpretation of history has become one of the great evils of our time. Men wish or pretend to forget that there is a God Who has created this world, Who redeemed it by the Blood of His only begotten Son, Who has watched over and protected it through the ages, and Whose all wise Providence has not failed even in the midst of the present world crisis, a crisis of rapine and revolution, of unrest and uprisings, of chaos and threatening ruin.

A history of the Christian Era which fails to take into account the birth and life of Christ, in a word God's plan for the redemption and salvation of the world, which fails to assign to the Catholic Church its full share in the civilization and progress of the world, is and must be unacceptable to a Catholic whether pupil or teacher. Unfortunately, however, too long has it been left to the already overburdened teachers, to the hard working Sisters, Brothers, and Priests of the teaching orders to guide their pupils to a safe port amid the shoals and shallows of an untrustworthy and biased history.

It is almost as a pioneer that Dr. Weber's "General History of the Christian Era" appears. Other histories, it is true, have been written from the Catholic point of view and have rendered excellent services to the Catholic cause. Practically all, however, are either short compendiums or lengthy reference books unsuited for the purpose which the present

work aims to fulfill. It is the aim of the "Catholic Education Press" to provide for the schools affiliated with the Catholic University of America, eventually, it is hoped for all the parochial schools of our country, a series of textbooks which shall form the Catholic youth of our nation in the fear and love of God, and in devotion to their country. In this double process obviously history has no small share. It is needless to mention here the progress that has been made in the past on other lines. Suffice it to say that the present work is welcomed as the harbinger of an advance in educational thought and endeavor, which augurs well for the future of our Catholic schools.

Dr. Weber, of the faculty of the Catholic University of America, has prepared his "General History" with a view to filling the void which exists in the line of history textbooks for use in Catholic secondary schools. He has admirably succeeded in his task. Starting with the birth of Christ as the fundamental fact which dominates the history of the Christian Era and without consideration of which no such history can be complete, the author sets before his readers a narrative and interpretation of facts which take into account all salient facts of the history of the world since the beginning of the Christian Era. He shows how from the little mustard seed sprang that divine institution, the Catholic Church; he shows her influence on the restless tribes and peoples of the past; he traces the disintegration and fall of the Roman Empire, doomed to disappear because it spurned the tenets of the Master, Who through His disciples established in the very city which sought to destroy them by fire and sword the only institution of the present day which can trace back its history without a break to those days of persecution and martyrdom. He paints the triumph of the Christian Church as it emerges from the Catacombs to take its place upon the great stage of life as the one divinely appointed instructor of the human race, to conquer spiritually the savage tribes, to teach them not only to love God but even to till the soil

and harness the stream, to wrest from nature those bounties which God has confided to her for man.

The author shows how closely bound up with that of the Church is the history of the nations. It is not our purpose to point out in detail the development of his treatment. This book is written as the work of a learned and sincere Catholic who recognizes that only by giving the facts and by relating all the causes, in a word, by exhibiting the finger of God as well as the hand of man in the life of the world, can a true history be written.

Dr. Weber has tried to present to the Catholic school and to the Catholic public in general a truthful, reliable general history, in the service of Catholic education, and his book ought to be welcome to many, who, for various reasons, have hitherto found the whole truth difficult of access.

It is with pleasure that we present to the Catholic schools of our country a work, the need of which has long been keenly felt. We hope for it all the success which its scholarship deserves. The thanks of all American Catholics, especially of those connected with educational work, are due to the author for the labor, devotion and zeal which he has brought to the completion of a peculiarly difficult task. May Almighty God, the providential Guardian of the holy cause of Catholic education, grant that our efforts may not cease here but that our Catholic educators may continue their meritorious services with growing success for the improvement of Catholic education in every province of human learning.

✠ Thomas J. Shahan,
Titular Bishop of Germanicopolis,
Rector of the Catholic University of America.

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INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS

1. Definition of History.—History is the record or narrative of the important events of human life. These events are usually considered in relation to their causes and effects and are frequently arranged in chronological order. They are set forth with the circumstances in which they occurred, which help to interpret and explain them. History, in other words, tries to give a true and reliable picture of the condition of an individual, a society, a people, or mankind in the partial or complete course of its existence. While human life in all its manifestations interests the human mind, civilized peoples, that is, peoples who have themselves made history, generally receive and deserve greater attention in historical studies. Barbarian tribes of hunters, fishermen, or nomads prove less attractive, and as a rule are considered only when they come in contact with civilized nations. As to civilization itself it is of a genuine and lasting character only when based on the eternal truths taught by Jesus Christ, the Savior of the world. His teaching not only renewed religion, but radically transformed the state, raised family life to a higher plane and modified all relations between man and man. Owing to this incalculable influence of Christ's teaching, the present work, while dealing chiefly with the nations which have developed a Christian civilization, also devotes, in order to give historical events their proper setting, considerable space to a discussion of the life and action of the Catholic Church.

A civilized people is usually distinguished from an uncultured race by the following characteristics: (1) A well-organized government which will usually be either a republic or a monarchy; (2) a religion free from gross and pernicious views; (3) agricultural, industrial, commercial and intellectual activity; (4) distinction of men by their occupations into various classes and professions, such as farmers, crafts-

men, merchants, officials; (5) contributions of greater or less importance to literature, art, and science.

2. Division of the History of the Christian Era.—The history of the Christian Era naturally falls into three great periods: (*a*) The first period, which extends from the birth of Christ to the fall of the Western Empire or from the year 1 to the year 476. During this period, known as Christian Antiquity, the Greeks and Romans were the chief representatives both of civilization and Christianity. (*b*) The second period, which extends from the fall of the Western Empire to the beginning of the Protestant Revolt, or from 476 to 1517. It is called the Middle Ages because it is the period of transition from Ancient to Modern Civilization. During this time religious unity prevailed in the Christian Church, and the new nations, formed after the invasion of the barbarians, became the main representatives of civilization. (*c*) The third period, known as Modern Times, which extends from the Protestant Revolt to our own day, that is, from 1517 to the present time. This period is especially characterized by important changes in the religious, social, and political ideas of the Christian world and consequent changes in the life and organization of state and Church.

3. Two of these three Periods are Subdivided into Epochs.—The following table gives an idea of the division into periods and their subdivision into epochs:

I. Period, 1–476	It is not necessary to subdivide this period, which will consequently be treated as a whole in this work.
II. Period, 476–1517, subdivided into Three Epochs.	1. From the Fall of the Western Empire to Its Restoration by the Coronation of Charlemagne (476–800). 2. From the Coronation of Charlemagne to the End of the Crusades (800–1270). 3. From the End of the Crusades to the Beginning of the Protestant Revolt (1270–1517).

III. Period, 1517 to the Present Day subdivided into Five Epochs

1. From the Protestant Revolt to the Treaty of Westphalia (1517–1648).
2. From the Treaty of Westphalia to the French Revolution (1648–1789).
3. From the French Revolution to the downfall of Napoleon (1789–1815).
4. From the Downfall of Napoleon to the outbreak of the World War (1815–1914).
5. From the outbreak of the World War to the present day.

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First Period
Christian Antiquity (1-476)

Chapter I

The Christian Religion and the Roman World to the Year 476

I. Jesus Christ; the Christian Religion

4. Preparation of the World for the Coming of Christ.— Two great events, which took place almost at the same time, influenced in a permanent, though different manner the history of the world: the more important of these was the coming of Christ and the preaching of His doctrine; the second, less important, but earlier in point of time, was the establishment of the Empire in Rome. The establishment of this great political power was a preparation for the appearance of Jesus Christ, the second Person of the Blessed Trinity, among men. This preparation is evidenced by the following conditions, prevalent at this time in the then known world:

(*a*) All nations were united under one ruler, the Roman emperor; and for the first time the whole world was at peace. The Apostles could thus preach the Gospel without being compelled to deal with many governments and without being hindered by warlike operations and disorder.

(*b*) One general language, Greek, was spoken throughout the empire. It was not understood by all the inhabitants, this being particularly true of the poorer classes in the West; but it could be used everywhere, would everywhere be understood by some, and in many parts of the empire by all the people.

(*c*) Along with the advantage of reaching in one language most of the inhabitants of the immense Roman world must

be mentioned the facility afforded for travelling throughout the empire, owing to the existence of the numerous and magnificent Roman roads. These led from the Golden Milestone in the capital to the remotest corners of the earth. The messengers of the new religion could thus easily transport themselves to the different parts of the Roman world.

(*d*) The Jews, believers in the one true God, were scattered over the whole empire. They had established flourishing colonies particularly in the large cities and great commercial centres. Wherever they were, they had remained substantially faithful to their religious practises and familiarized the pagans with the idea of one God, thus preparing them for the acceptance of the Christian religion.

(*e*) Success was the more easily secured in this propaganda, because many persons no longer believed in the doctrines of the pagan religion; and Christianity was the more readily accepted after this remote preparation, because the whole world at the time expected a Redeemer.

5. Jesus Christ is born at Bethlehem.—When the "fulness of time" had come, that is to say, after this careful preparation, Jesus Christ was born of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Bethlehem in Judea, Palestine.[1] His birth in a stable at the time of the third census of Augustus was announced by angels to shepherds guarding their flocks in the neighbourhood. The greater part of His life, known as the hidden life, was spent in obscurity with His parents at Nazareth. This period was marked by two important events: His flight into Egypt and His presence in the temple at Jerusalem. The Sacred Scriptures tell us that in this celebrated sanctuary when still a mere child He astounded the Doctors by

[1] It is a generally admitted fact that the first year of the Christian Era is not the exact year of Christ's birth. Denis the Little, who in the sixth century introduced our present method of reckoning time, placed the birth of Christ in 754 U. C. But Our Lord was born during the reign of Herod the Great, who died in 750. His birth must therefore, be placed about 748, *i.e.*, a few years earlier than the beginning of the Christian Era.

THE CRUCIFIXION (*Tintoretto*)

the wisdom of His answers. They contain but few other details regarding His hidden life; they call attention, however, to His practise of obedience to His parents during this period.

When He was about thirty years old, in the fifteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius (14–37), Jesus began His public life. For three years He went about in Palestine, preaching in the synagogues, declaring Himself the Messiah, the true Son of God and announcing that He had come upon earth to save men and redeem them from sin. His teaching was soon opposed and His person denounced by the teachers of the Jewish people, the sect known as the Pharisees. Their opposition finally culminated in His betrayal by Judas and His arrest in the Garden of Olives at the gates of Jerusalem. Jesus was tried by the Sanhedrim or High Council of the Jews and sentenced to death as a blasphemer who had called Himself the Son of God. This sentence could not be carried out in Palestine, then a Roman province, without the consent of the Roman Governor Pontius Pilate. The latter personally wished to release Jesus and to remain "innocent of the blood of this just man." But being a time-serving, rather than a just official, he yielded to the clamors of the Jewish rabble for the blood of the Savior and delivered the God-Man up to His enemies. They nailed Him ignominiously to the Cross between two thieves on Golgotha or Calvary, a hill not far distant from Jerusalem.

6. Jesus rises from the Dead; His Doctrine.—The unjust execution of Jesus and the apparent triumph of His enemies marked not only the beginning of the wonderful spread of His doctrine, but also a new era in the moral transformation of the world. The Redeemer, in virtue of His divine power, rose from the dead, appeared miraculously to His Apostles and Disciples on many occasions, and thus confirmed them in their loyalty to His memory and teaching. His doctrine has been transmitted to us especially in the inspired writings

of the New Testament. According to them Jesus Christ taught that it is the first duty of man to love God above all things, and the second, to love his neighbor as himself. This love of one's neighbor ought to extend even to one's personal enemies, and man ought always to be ready to return good for evil. These high-minded actions ought to spring from a sincere and loving heart. God, our universal Father, will reward in heaven the practise of meekness, charity and long-suffering, as well as that of all other virtues such as humility, poverty, purity. In His sight, all are equal, rich and poor, ignorant and learned, Greek and barbarian. He extends equal recompense to all, provided they obey His law and do His will.

This teaching of Jesus, particularly His preaching of universal equality and brotherhood, His love of poverty and humility, was in strange and striking contrast with the current ethical notions of His day. The pagan world, which His doctrine was to convert and reform, relied on physical force and prided itself on its temporal possessions. Charity was unknown to it and slavery a well-established institution. Its gods, innumerable and selfish, restricted their protection to one nation. The religion of Jesus, on the contrary, was for all nations and peoples. It was all-comprehensive, in so far as mankind was concerned; it was all-exclusive in respect to other religions, because it was the only true one and could not consent to compromise with error.

7. Pentecost and the Spread of the Christian Religion.— During the lifetime of Jesus Christ twelve of His more intimate disciples became, as it were, His constant companions and are usually designated as the twelve Apostles. It was upon them, with the exception of the traitor Judas, that the duty devolved to preach the doctrine which they had received from the Master. The Lord Himself chose them for this mission and bade them preach the glad tidings of the new Church founded by Him:

"Going, therefore, teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world."[1]

They received the strength to fulfill this important, difficult, and dangerous mission on Pentecost Day, when, while they were assembled at Jerusalem, the Holy Ghost came down upon them. Pentecost marked not only a complete transformation in the hitherto pusillanimous Apostles; it was also the day on which, for the first time, a large number of conversions to the Church of Christ was made. In the city of Jerusalem and the surrounding country about 3,000 persons were converted. Many of these converts were strangers, whom the Feast of Pentecost had attracted to the Holy City and who, after their return to their native lands, became the first messengers of the Gospel outside Palestine. In the latter country the Apostles continued the work begun at Pentecost, and the number of believers increased daily. Persecution, however, soon interfered with the Apostles' work among the Jews; and in quest of a more favorable field for their endeavors, they spread in different directions, to announce the Gospel of Christ in the various parts of the Roman world and beyond. They usually repaired to the large cities and preached in the synagogues.

8. Saint Peter and Saint Paul.—St. Peter, the rock upon whom Christ had built His Church proceeded from Palestine to Antioch. Subsequently, he removed to Rome, as even celebrated non-Catholic historians admit today, and transmitted the supreme authority to govern the Church to his successors in the Roman See.

St. Peter was not, however, the most remarkable and ardent preacher among the Apostles. As a missionary, he and all the other Apostles were surpassed by Saul, later known as Paul, the one-time persecutor of the Church. St. Paul was born at Tarsus in Cilicia of Jewish parents and

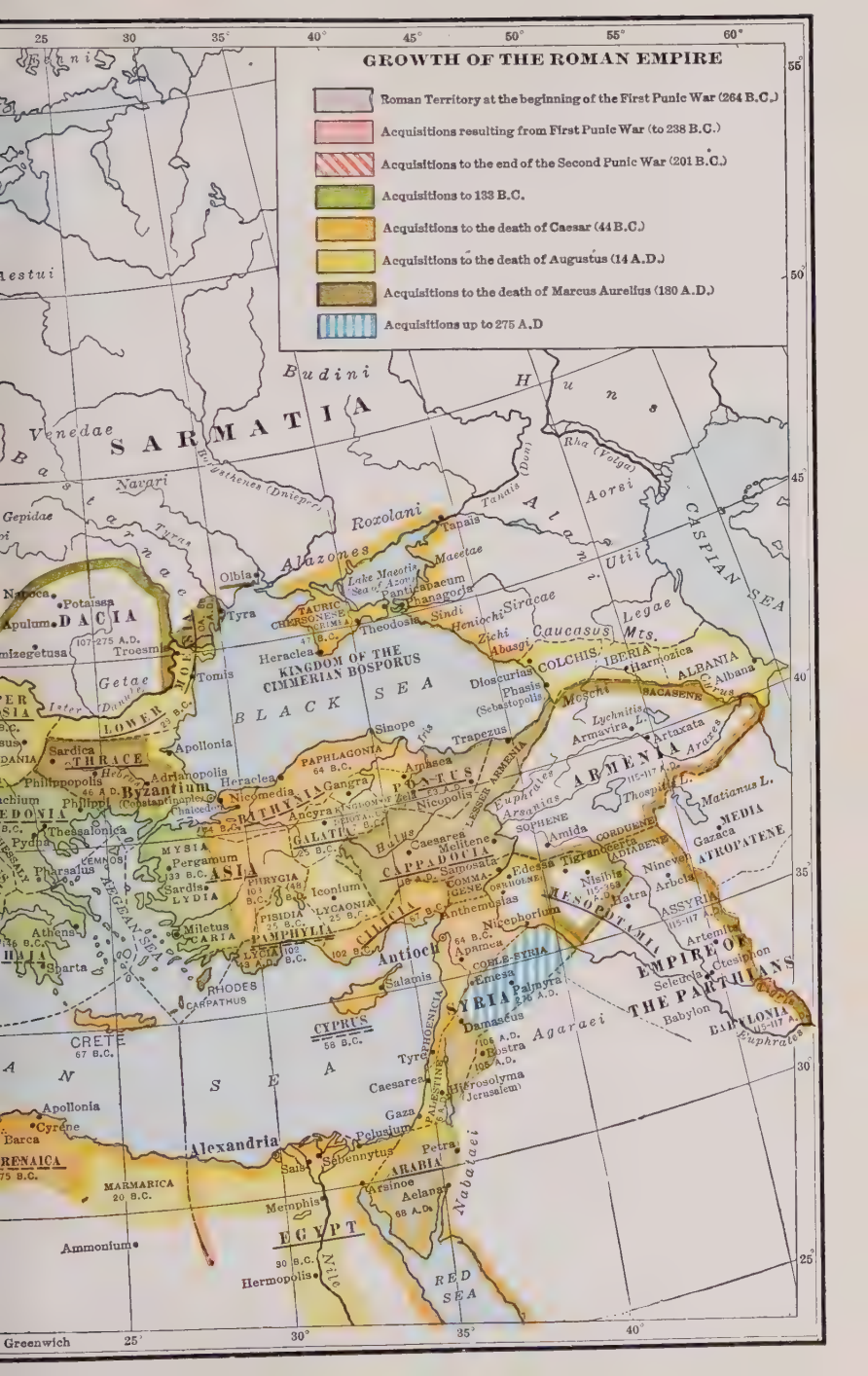
[1] Matth. xxviii, 19–20.

with the rights of Roman citizenship. From one of the bitterest opponents of the Church, he was wonderfully transformed, after his miraculous conversion on the road to Damascus, into the most intrepid and tireless preacher the Catholic Church has ever known. Unlike the other Apostles who were poor and uncultured, he was well versed in all the sacred and profane learning of the day. In several missionary journeys he traversed Asia Minor, Greece, Macedonia, Italy, and certainly intended to go to Spain, if he did not actually visit that country. He preached in such cities as Athens, Corinth and Rome. In Rome he suffered martyrdom under Nero (67 A. D.) about the same time as St. Peter. He has rightly been called the Apostle of the Gentiles, *i. e.*, of the pagans, and through his missionary activity he was instrumental more than any other one merely human agent in securely establishing the Christian religion.

II. State of the World at the Introduction of the Christian Religion

9. Establishment of the Roman Empire by Augustus 31 B. C.—The efforts of the Christian missionaries in spreading the Gospel were exerted at the beginning almost exclusively in the world subject to Rome. The establishment of the Empire, *i. e.*, of the personal rule of Octavius, was not many years anterior to the birth of Christ, since it dated back only to the battle of Actium (31 B. C.). The change from the republic to this new form of government was more real than apparent, for Octavius, mindful of Caesar's tragic fate, gradually concentrated all power in his own hands, though outwardly he seemingly maintained and protected all the old Roman institutions. He declined the title of Dictator, maintained the Senate and the Consuls, but consented to be called "Augustus," the August, a name used in connection with sacred places. Other titles were conferred upon him; he was called "Imperator," Emperor. This

MAP SHOWING THE GREATEST EXTENT OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE
Imperial Provinces: DALMATIA. Senatorial Provinces: MACEDONIA.
Date of Acquisition before Christ thus:..64 B.C.
Date of Acquisition after Christ thus:....43 A.D.
Boundaries of the Roman Provinces before Diocletian
Roman Walls
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
ABBREVIATIONS:
P.A.=Pennine Alps
M.A.=Maritime Alps
K.C.=Kingdom of Cottius
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
BAY OF BISCAY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
IBERIAN SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
BRITAIN
HIBERNIA
CALEDONIA
GERMANY
GAUL
BELGICA
LUGDUNENSIS
AQUITANIA
NARBONENSIS
SPAIN
LUSITANIA
TARRACONENSIS
BAETICA
GALLAECIA
ITALY
SICILY
SARDINIA
CORSICA
BALEARIC IS.
RAETIA
NORICUM
PANNONIA
DALMATIA
MACEDONIA
MAURETANIA TINGITANA
MAURETANIA CAESARIENSIS
NUMIDIA
AFRICA
Rome
Carthage
Britannia
Ebudae Is. (Hebrides)
Orcades Is.
Wall of Antoninus or Severus
Hadrian's Wall
Cimbric Chersonese
Suiones
Goths
Scandia
Sarmatia
Cassiterides Is.
Lugdunum (Lyons)
Londinium (London)
Eburacum (York)
Deva
Lindum
Verulamium
Isca
Eblana
Rotomagus
Lutetia
Durocortorum
Argentoratum
Colonia Agrippina
Augusta Treverorum
Sugambri
Ubii
Chauci
Frisians
Angles
Varini
Lombards
Cherusci
Semnones
Hermunduri
Marcomanni
Regina Castra
Augusta Vindelicorum
Lauriacum
Virunum
Carnuntum
Vindelicia
Aquileia
Emona
Tergeste
Siscia
Salonae
Ariminum
Ancona
Corfinium
Capua
Neapolis (Naples)
Brundisium
Tarentum
Croton
Messana
Syracuse
Agrigentum
Lilybaeum
Utica
Hippo Regius
Cirta
Zama
Hadrumetum
Ruspina
Thapsus
Leptis major
Oea
Sabrata
Tripolis
Syrtis Minor
Meninx
Thenae
Capsa
Thelepte
Theveste
Thysdrus
Lopadusa
Melita
Caralis
Aleria
Genua (Genoa)
Massilia (Marseilles)
Arelate
Narbo
Tolosa
Vienna
Augustodunum
Avaricum
Vesontio
Augusta Rauracorum
Mediolanum
Taurasia
Placentia
Ariminum
Pisae
Ilerda
Caesaraugusta
Tarraco
Dertosa
Saguntum
Valentia
Carthago Nova
Corduba
Hispalis
Munda
Gades (Cadiz)
Malaca
Tingis
Lixus
Rusaddir
Icosium
Saldae
Cirta
Zama
Thevesta
Thelepte
Capsa
Thapsus
Hadrumetum
Ruspina
Lopadusa
Melita
Syrtis Minor
Meninx
Thenae
Sabrata
Oea
Leptis major
Tripolis
Syrtis Major
Longitude 15° West from


GROWTH OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
Roman Territory at the beginning of the First Punic War (264 B.C.)
Acquisitions resulting from First Punic War (to 238 B.C.)
Acquisitions to the end of the Second Punic War (201 B.C.)
Acquisitions to 133 B.C.
Acquisitions to the death of Caesar (44 B.C.)
Acquisitions to the death of Augustus (14 A.D.)
Acquisitions to the death of Marcus Aurelius (180 A.D.)
Acquisitions up to 275 A.D
SARMATIA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
DACIA
MOESIA
THRACE
Byzantium
BITHYNIA
PONTUS
PAPHLAGONIA
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
MESOPOTAMIA
EMPIRE OF THE PARTHIANS
ASIA
MYSIA
LYDIA
PHRYGIA
PISIDIA
PAMPHYLIA
CILICIA
SYRIA
COMMAGENE
COLCHIS
IBERIA
ALBANIA
SACASENE
MEDIA ATROPATENE
ASSYRIA
BABYLONIA
KINGDOM OF THE CIMMERIAN BOSPORUS
CRIMEA
CRETE
CYPRUS
RHODES
EGYPT
ARABIA
PALESTINE
PHOENICIA
Alexandria
Antioch
Byzantium
Nicomedia
Nicopolis
Ancyra
Sinope
Trapezus
Amisus
Heraclea
Tomis
Olbia
Tyra
Tanais
Theodosia
Phasis
Dioscurias
Artaxata
Armavira
Thospitis L.
Caesarea
Tyre
Damascus
Palmyra
Ctesiphon
Seleucia
Babylon
Nisibis
Ninevah
Arbela
Hatra
Amida
Edessa
Zeugma
Melitene
Samosata
Comana
Iconium
Antiochia
Nicephorium
Aparnea
Emesa
Salamis
Miletus
Pergamum
Sardis
Ephesus
Athens
Sparta
Thessalonica
Philippopolis
Adrianopolis
Apollonia
Sardica
Troesmis
Tyra
Potaissa
Napoca
Apulum
Getae
Bastarnae
Sarmatae
Roxolani
Alazones
Aorsi
Alani
Siraci
Zichi
Heniochi
Sindi
Maeotae
Lake Maeotis (Sea of Azov)
Tauric Chersonese
Panticapaeum
Phanagoria
Abasgi
Caucasus Mts.
Legae
Utii
Albani
Cyrus
Moschi
Lychnitis L.
Matianus L.
Euphrates
Tigris
Arsanias
Lesser Armenia
Sophene
Cordyene
Adiabene
Gazaca
Arsinoe
Aelana
Petra
Bostra
Hierosolyma (Jerusalem)
Gaza
Sebennytus
Memphis
Ammonium
Hermopolis
Nile
Red Sea
Agaraei
Nabataei
Mesopotamia
Rha (Volga)
Tanais (Don)
Borysthenes (Dnieper)
Tyras
Budini
Hunni
Venedae
Gepidae
Bastarnae
Navari
Aestui
Greenwich
25°
30°
35°
40°
45°
50°
55°
60°

name, which then meant, not civil ruler as today, but victorious general, indicated the origin of his power and conferred upon him the legal command of all the armies. He was also styled "Tribune," which rendered his person inviolable; "Censor," which entitled him to the nomination of senators and the surveillance of the citizens; "High Priest," which placed him in supreme control over religious affairs; finally "Princeps" or President of the Senate and first among all citizens.

Augustus thus enjoyed all titles and wielded all power; affairs of state, however, seemed to be administered as formerly. The Senate framed the laws, and the magistrate enforced them in the name of the people. The standards of the armies continued to bear the inscription: S. P. Q. R., *i. e.*, "Senatus Populusque Romanus," the Senate and the Roman people. Augustus led the life of an ordinary citizen, went to the polls, supported his friends at the elections, took his turn speaking in the Senate and was accessible to all in his unpretentious residence on the Palatine. He wished to impose order on Rome and himself gave the example. These democratic and unassuming ways only served to hide from the public his exercise of absolute power. A privy council, known as the Council of the Prince, governed the Empire in fact under the supreme control of the Emperor, while through various officials the control of affairs in the city itself was also concentrated in his hands.

10. The City of Rome under Augustus.—The restoration of order and tranquillity in the city brought with it increased prosperity. New monuments rose on all sides, and Augustus toward the end of his reign could rightly boast that he had found Rome of brick and left it of marble. He endeavored especially to increase the water supply of the city, devoted his energy to the construction of magnificent aqueducts, and created for this purpose a special corps of engineers. He also sought to stem the tide of moral corruption and to restore the old religious practises. Laws against divorce

and celibacy were enacted as a means of preventing the birth rate from further declining.

As coworkers in his efforts to establish the affairs of the empire on a solid basis, two of his friends deserve mention: *Agrippa*, the conqueror of Antony, and *Maecenas*, the great patron of arts and letters during the reign.

11. The Provinces under Augustus.—The establishment of the empire was most advantageous to the provinces. With this event their oppression by the Proconsuls ceased; their administration was placed in the hands of state officials, known as *Legates*. These were appointed by the emperor and were obliged to render an account of their administration. Furthermore, the inhabitants of the provinces enjoyed the right of electing assemblies, which could directly address requests and petitions to the emperor. Augustus personally undertook numerous journeys to his various states, to acquaint himself with their needs. More roads were constructed, great public works were carried out, and security was established everywhere. The conquered nations and outlying countries could not help acknowledging the blessings of imperial rule, and bestowed on it the beautiful title of "Roman Peace," *Pax Romana*. This state of security could the more easily be established, as the empire was protected almost everywhere by a natural boundary line, which was formed by the Atlantic Ocean, the Sahara Desert, the Euphrates, the Danube and the Rhine. The territory lying between the two latter rivers was, however, weak along its frontiers.

12. Religion in Rome at the Beginning of Christianity.—The Romans honored not only a large, but an enormous number of gods. These were so numerous that the priests had to use special books, in which the various names were listed. If piety were to be judged by the number of gods, the Romans could be accounted the most devout people of antiquity. But the moral sentiments inculcated were not in proportion to the multitude of divinities. The Roman

religion made an attempt to regulate the morality of the people, but not to transform the individual, whose happiness it did not seek to procure either in this world or the next. It aimed at the morality of the family for the benefit of the state. The Roman virtues, courage in war, domestic economy, fidelity in marriage were patriotic virtues, and only as such were they taught and practised in the pagan state. The gods formed part of the body politic on which religion was based. Every citizen belonged, in a most absolute manner, to the state power, both as regards his person and his property. An indifferent or neutral attitude in public affairs, of which religion formed an important and inseparable part was not tolerated. Pagans might jest at the gods, but they were compelled to be present at the official sacrifices.

The natives of the conquered territories might continue to honor their provincial deities; the latter were even admitted among the gods of Rome; but along with this worship, each subject of the empire had to conform to the old official worship of the Roman State. Rome was always willing to acquire new gods, and Christianity could easily have been admitted among the existing religions. But Christianity could not consent to the toleration of the pagan religions side by side with itself. It was the only true religion, and consequently condemned and excluded all the others. It taught that Christ was the true God and that all the other gods were false. Under these circumstances a conflict was bound to ensue between the Roman State and the Christian Church. It broke out in the persecutions, which lasted with many interruptions throughout the first three centuries.

III. Conflict between Christianity and the Roman State

13. The Persecutions of the Christians; Their General Cause, Number and Division.—The chief cause of the persecutions, as has just been stated, was the fact that the

organization of the Roman State and the claims of the Christian Church were utterly irreconcilable. Catholic historians, following Orosius, usually number ten persecutions. But this number is more acceptable for its symbolism than for its accuracy; it was adopted in remembrance of the ten plagues of Egypt. The persecutions, logically grouped in two periods, took place under the following emperors:

I Period	Nero, 54–68 Domitian, 81–96. Trajan, 98–117 Marcus Aurelius, 161–180 Septimius Severus, 193–211. Maximin the Thracian, 235–238.	II Period	Decius, 249–251. Valerian, 253–260. Aurelian, 270–275. Diocletian, 284–305.

As is seen, the division into periods is very unequal, the first one comprising two centuries and the second only about half a century. The reason for this inequality is to be sought in the fact that the division is based on the difference in character of the persecutions and not on their duration.

During the first period the attacks made on the Christians were frequently only local, due either to the ill-will of an emperor or governor or to the outbreak of popular fury.

During the second period they were both more determined and more systematic. The emperors had come to the conclusion that the existence of the Christians was irreconcilable with the well-being of the Roman State and that their extermination was demanded by the vital interests of the empire.

14. The Persecution under Nero (64–68).—The first great and most generally known persecution occurred under the Emperor Nero. It began in the summer of the year 64. In the month of July of that year a fire, which started on the Palatine and lasted for nine days, destroyed almost two-thirds of Rome. While it cannot be proved with certainty today who was the author or what was the cause of the conflagration, the emperor himself was suspected by the people of having set the city on fire and of having caused this

THE CRUCIFIXION OF ST. PETER. (*G. Reni*)

general disaster. To clear himself of such a grievous charge, he accused the Christians of the crime and sent many of them to a horrible death. The victims were very numerous; many were covered with the skins of wild beasts and thrown to furious dogs; others were crucified; and some were covered with pitch or other inflammable materials and set on fire to illuminate the city at night. The names of only a few of the victims have been preserved for us. The most illustrious among them were the Apostles Peter and Paul. The latter, according to tradition, was beheaded, while St. Peter was crucified head downwards. The persecution lasted very probably until the end of Nero's reign (68), and can hardly have been confined to the city of Rome. The provinces very probably followed the example of the capital and likewise massacred the Christians.

15. The Persecution under Decius (250–251).—The second period of the persecutions opens with the reign of Decius. Intent upon restoring the ancient power and splendor of the Roman State, the emperor sought to win the Christians back to heathenism. The visible decline of the empire could, in his eyes, be arrested in its progress only by the restoration of the old paganism. He set about carrying out his purpose with such method and ruthless energy that the persecution inaugurated by him surpassed all previous ones in cruelty. Long and horrrible tortures were first to be inflicted on the Christians to win them back to the old state religion. The bishops alone were immediately put to death, that the empire might triumph the more easily over a disorganized and headless flock. As for this flock itself, owing to the comparatively long period of peace, which had lasted with a slight interruption from 211 to 250, the religious fervor of primitive times no longer animated all the Christians. Many of them fled before the persecutors; others sought certificates or had their names inserted in the official registers, as proofs of their compliance with the imperial edicts; others again burned incense or sacrificed to the idols. But

while the number of the apostates was undoubtedly large, the spirit of Christian heroism was not dead. At Rome Pope Fabian suffered martyrdom for the faith; in Sicily St. Agatha died amidst horrible tortures; at Smyrna St. Pionius was burned to death. The famous Origen suffered the most excruciating torments, as a result of which he died a few years later. The persecution was most severe particularly in the Province of Africa, which furnished the largest number of martyrs.

16. The Persecution under Diocletian (303–305).—The last persecution was inaugurated by Diocletian; it was the greatest and bloodiest of them all, and decided finally the issue between Christianity and paganism in favor of the former. Diocletian reigned from 284 to 305. At the beginning of his reign he not only tolerated the Christians, but even exhibited favorable dispositions towards and extensive confidence in them. The Christians were freed from the obligation of participating in pagan sacrifices. They were appointed to high offices in the state and even in the imperial palace. Their number increased very rapidly; beautiful Christian churches arose in the important cities, and even members of the imperial family adopted the new religion. This state of things might have endured until the end of the reign had it not been for the nefarious influence of Galerius, whom Diocletian had appointed Caesar when he introduced the new division of the empire. Galerius, supported by numerous like-minded pagans, succeeded in convincing the emperor of the necessity of enforcing the old Roman worship. The execution of the plan began probably in 298 with the publication of an order affecting the army. Christian officers were bidden to sacrifice to the idols under penalty of losing their rank. Refusal meant exclusion from the army, and for some even death. For several years this special measure, directed against the military, remained alone in force; but in 303 the persecution became general.

Edict now followed edict in quick succession. The first

appeared on February 24, 303. It decreed the destruction of the Christian churches, the burning of the Sacred Scriptures, the loss of their dignities and offices by the Christians in high positions, and the denial of the protection of the laws to them all of whatever condition. Popular uprisings in some provinces and a fire in the imperial palace at Nicomedia were attributed to the Christians and were followed by more severe measures. A second edict ordered the imprisonment of all clerics; a third subjected them to torture, to force them to offer sacrifice. A fourth edict appeared at the beginning of 304, imposing on all Christians the choice between sacrifice and death. Blood now flowed in streams. So numerous were the victims that the period was called the "*Era of the Martyrs.*" The persecution raged chiefly in the East, where it continued for several years after Diocletian's abdication in 305. Gaul, on the contrary, where Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great, was ruling, suffered little more than material damage. This Caesar, confining himself to the execution of the first edict, demanded only that the Christian churches be destroyed or closed. In the East, the attempt to destroy Christianity by exterminating its followers proved unsuccessful. Galerius, the chief instigator of the persecution, was forced to recognize the failure of his efforts. In 311, shortly before his death, he published an edict granting tolerance to the Christians.

IV. End of the Conflict: Constantine Grants Freedom to the Church (313.)

17. Constantine and the Battle of the Milvian Bridge (Oct., 312).—Constantine, subsequently called the Great, succeeded his father Constantius in the government of Gaul in 306. Although still a pagan, he continued the mild policy of his predecessor in dealing with the Christians. While he governed Gaul, Maxentius was ruling Italy. Difficulties

soon manifested themselves between the two neighbors, and Constantine, in an effort to decide the issue, invaded Italy. It was an unusually bold move under the circumstances; for not only was his army outnumbered three to one by that of Maxentius, but as the latter's forces were stationed at and near Rome, the former seemed to attack this ancient city itself, which was considered sacred and inviolable by the pagans. Anxious about the possible issue of the struggle, and desirous of help from above, Constantine beheld one day in the heavens a fiery cross, standing over the sun and inscribed with these words: "In this conquer," (en touto nika). While he was thinking about this apparition, Christ instructed him, the following night, in a dream, to go forth into battle armed with this sign, and commanded him to make a standard after this pattern. The new banner, known as the "Labarum," was very extensively used from then onward in the Roman armies. The battle between the two rival contenders was fought at the Milvian Bridge near Rome. Maxentius was utterly defeated and, with many of his legionaries, drowned in the Tiber (Oct. 27 or 28, 312).

18. The Milan Agreement (313).—With this victory of Constantine the triumph of Christianity was assured. Shortly afterwards he proceeded to Milan, where he gave his sister Constantia in marriage to the Augustus Licinius and conferred with him on questions of policy in general and on religious toleration in particular. The exchange of views led to an agreement which was later published in the East in the name of the two rulers and which has been frequently but inaccurately called the Edict of Milan. This agreement granted permanent toleration to the Christians. It reads in part:

"When I,Constantine Augustus,and I,Licinius Augustus,came under favorable auspices to Milan and took under consideration everything which pertained to the common weal and prosperity, we resolved among other things, or rather first of all, to make such decrees as seemed in many respects for the benefit of everyone,namely such as should preserve reverence and piety toward the deity. We resolved, that is, to grant both to the Christians and to all men freedom to follow the religion which they

choose, that whatever heavenly divinity exists, may be propitious to us and to all that live under our government. We have, therefore, determined with sound and upright purpose, that liberty is to be denied to no one, to choose and to follow the religious observances of the Christians, but that to each one freedom is to be given, to devote his mind to that religion, which he may think adapted to himself, in order that the deity may exhibit to us in all things his accustomed care and favor."[1]

This agreement suppressed the repressive measures previously issued against the Christians and granted them, equally with the pagans, the free exercise of their religion. It was more important than the above-mentioned edict of Galerius, which was limited in scope and conditional in character, because it proclaimed absolute and unrestricted religious freedom, the right of every man to choose and practice his religion without interference from the state.

V. Church and State from 313 to 476

19. The Religious Policy of Constantine after 313.—As will be remembered, the history of the first three centuries is largely a history of the Church's struggle against persecution and oppression. The Milan Agreement officially recognized the Christian religion. Henceforth no distinction was to be made by the state between Christians and pagans. All might be admitted to public offices. The Christian churches, like the pagan temples, might be used as places of refuge and enjoy the right of sanctuary.

After this official declaration, a great deal depended on the personal attitude of the emperors in its application. Constantine and his successors were absolute rulers and might conform more or less faithfully to the tenor of the agreement. What an important part the personal views of the emperors were to play in the religious history of the empire appears from a study of the period immediately following the adoption of religious tolerance in 313. Constantine the Great for ten years sincerely observed the provisions of the religious agreement entered into at Milan. It is true that he restricted

[1] Eusebius: *Church History*, Book X, Chapter V, in Scribner's *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. I, p. 379.

pagan liberty and issued laws favorable to the Christians, as when he made Sunday a public festival in 321. But these laws were a departure from the edict more in appearance than in reality. For similar regulations were already in existence in favor of paganism, and some of the restrictions merely prohibited certain objectionable and immoral practises connected with pagan worship. The emperor, realizing the necessity of proceeding cautiously, as the majority of the population was still true to its ancient gods, continued to bear the title and perform the functions of Supreme Pontiff of the heathen religion.

20. Constantine and Licinius.—Whilst the emperor of the West did not entirely conceal his preferences for Christianity, Licinius, his colleague in the East, adopted an entirely different policy and issued restrictive measures against the Christians. They were expelled from the army and dismissed from the court; their religious services were interfered with, and even bloody persecution was used against them by some governors. Jealousy and diversity of policy soon caused open warfare between the two emperors, and a decisive battle was fought in 323 at Chrysopolis (Scutari). Licinius was defeated; he lost his crown and shortly afterward, his life. Constantine thus because sole ruler of East and West. The conflict between the two emperors had been in reality a conflict between the two religions and ended with the triumph of Christianity. Constantine now openly became the protector of the new religion. With his financial assistance splendid buildings were erected for Christian worship. He granted the Christian Church the right to receive donations and legacies and himself bestowed on it munificent gifts.

21. Arianism; the Council of Nice (325).—Just when a splendid future seemed to open for the once despised religion of Christ, new dangers arose to threaten it, this time from within: Christianity victorious against the Roman State was rent by internal divisions, by heresies. Some of its adherents obstinately denied certain essential doctrines of

the faith preached by Jesus Christ, and, in so doing, separated themselves from His Church. The first and most famous of the heresies that arose during this period was Arianism, which denied the divinity of the Son of God and His equality in all things with the Father. The Council of Nice in 325 condemned this teaching and asserted the true Catholic belief of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. Constantine supported the decisions of the council with his authority for some time. After a few years, however, he assumed an attitude of toleration toward Arianism and its leaders. At his death in 337 he was succeeded by his three sons, Constantine II (337–340), Constans (337–350), and Constantius (337–361), who divided his dominions. Constantine II was an open protector of the Catholics, Constans assumed a less favorable attitude toward them, and Constantius publicly and in a determined manner supported Arianism.

22. Julian the Apostate (361–363) **and his Attempt at a Pagan Restoration.**—Constantius, who had reunited the empire under his rule, was succeeded by Julian, the nephew of Constantine and the last representative of the Constantinian dynasty. Julian has gone down in history with the surname of the *Apostate*, because he despised and renounced the Christian religion in which he was born. He had spent many years at Athens in the study of Greek letters and philosophy. In 357 he was appointed Caesar and invested with the government of Gaul. In this position he displayed excellent military qualities and was popular with the army. In 360 he was proclaimed Augustus by his troops; the death of Constantius averted a civil war and made Julian undisputed ruler (361). The new emperor, who was never a Christian at heart, now felt free from all religious restraint.

He openly abjured Christianity and made a determined attempt to restore the pagan religion in a modified form. In order to strengthen their administrative system he reproduced among the pagans the Christian hierarchy,

viz., an organization with a supreme pontiff, metropolitans, bishops, and priests. He also introduced frequent preaching and the practise of charity. The former was a means of spreading or maintaining pagan teaching; the latter offset the influence exercised by Christian benevolent institutions. Hospitals, asylums, and houses for the reception of strangers were erected under pagan auspices. Paganism again became the official religion, and sacrifices were offered in the name of states, provinces, and cities.

23. Julian's Opposition to Christianity.—Hand in hand with this pagan restoration went the oppression of Christianity in spite of the emperor's hypocritical declaration that the Galileans, as he contemptuously called the Christians, enjoyed complete freedom in his empire. At every opportunity he showed his contempt for them. They were dismissed from all official positions and discriminated against in special imperial laws. They were forbidden to teach the classics, because, it was alleged, a master should not read and interpret a book which speaks of gods in whom he does not believe. The real reason for the prohibition was the fact that the fables of mythology were, in the hands of the Christians, a weapon against paganism. The aim of such legislation was the exclusion of the Christians from the culture of the day and from all higher positions.

Julian's efforts ended in miserable failure because the decayed paganism of his day could not be revived and because his work was hardly begun when he fell in the war against the Persians (363). The words, "O Galilean, thou hast conquered," which legend declares he uttered in his dying moments, though probably never actually pronounced by him, nevertheless fittingly express the judgment passed by the world on his misguided efforts to destroy the religion of Christ.

24. Theodosius I, the Great (379–395); **Christianity becomes the State Religion.**—Julian died without heirs. The government of the empire again fell to soldiers of fortune who

immediately restored to the Christian religion its former rights and encouraged its progress. Heathenism gradually disappeared from the cities and was to be found only in villages, hamlets, and rural districts. For that reason the name paganism (religion of the peasants, from "pagus," village), which we meet in a law of 368, was now used to designate the old worship. The title and insignia of Supreme Pontiff were laid aside for the first time by the Emperor Gratian (375–383). This ruler also deprived the Vestal virgins of their privileges and of their support by the state. He ordered the removal of the altar and statue of Victory from the Roman curia or Senate Chamber, and would not even receive the embassy sent to him to apply for its restoration. The reign of Theodosius I, the Great, was marked by still further restrictions imposed on pagan worship. Orders were issued for the closing of many pagan temples. In a popular upheaval at Alexandria all the temples, including the famous temple of Serapis, were destroyed, and the emperor took no measures against the disturbers of the peace. Some of the pagan temples which were not destroyed were claimed by the Christians to be used for their services. These events prompted the famous rhetorician Libanius to write a defense of pagan places of worship, which, however, gained nothing for his cause. In 391 Theodosius and his colleague Valentinian II issued a common edict forbidding, under heavy fines, all public heathen worship, making pagan sacrifices unlawful, and even prohibiting the visiting of temples and the worship of idols. At the end of Theodosius' reign paganism was illicit in all its manifestations, and Christianity was in reality the religion of the state.

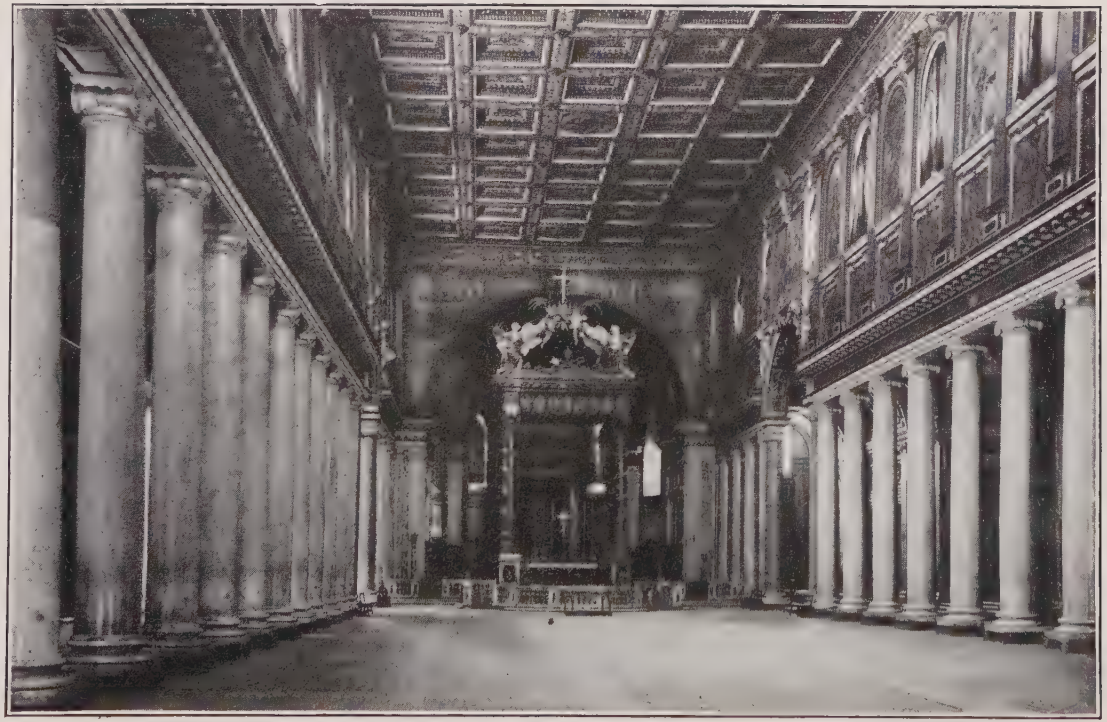
25. Power of the Catholic Clergy; Penance of Theodosius. —An incident which illustrates the fact that a new power, that of the Church and clergy, had arisen in the world is found in the life of Theodosius. In a riot caused at Thessalonica, the modern Saloniki, by the imprisonment of a favorite charioteer, the inhabitants had massacred the general

and several officers of the imperial garrison (390). When the news of the event reached Theodosius he flew into an uncontrollable rage and took cruel revenge on the inhabitants of the city. He issued orders to his Gothic soldiers to surround the circus during a performance and to massacre the spectators; seven thousand persons perished in the slaughter. This horrible execution aroused general indignation. When, shortly afterwards, the emperor wished to attend religious services in the cathedral of Milan, St. Ambrose refused him admission until he had done penance for his horrible crime. Theodosius submitted and performed public penance. The commander of the Roman legions thus yielded obedience to the defenseless bishop! A great moral and spiritual force, that of the Christian Church, was making itself felt in the repression of arrogance and violence.

26. Ecclesiastical Organization.—With the triumph of the Church, the ecclesiastical hierarchy received its complete organization. The Bishop of Rome, by divine commission, exercised supreme authority over the universal Church. Under him four patriarchs governed the four great religious or political centres of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople. The Church was further divided into provinces ruled by metropolitans, and lastly into dioceses with bishops at their heads.

This organization was based, in some particulars, on the existing civil administration; but it widely differed from the latter in the all-important question of its relation to the people. All vestiges of democracy had disappeared from the Roman political organism, whereas, in the Church, the people enjoyed very important rights. The faithful elected their bishops and, to a large extent, directly controlled local affairs and indirectly the general government of the Church. The bishops frequently met in assemblies or councils in which they discussed and solved the more important problems affecting the Christian world.

The various dioceses acquired large landed estates. These



A Church Built in the Style of an Ancient Basilica. St. Mary Major's, Rome.

properties were managed by the clergy, who used the revenues for their own maintenance, the upkeep of places of worship, and the support of the poor. The church edifices were built in sumptuous proportions and generally had the shape of the old Roman basilicas. This name was applied in pagan Rome to the courthouses, *i. e.*, spacious halls divided by several rows of columns and frequently containing a story of circular galleries. This form of building seemed appropriate to hold the large number of faithful who met in Christian churches, which in this respect differed from the pagan temples, as the latter contained only the statue of the god to whom they were dedicated.

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CHAPTER II

THE EMPERORS FROM TIBERIUS TO COMMODUS (14–192) THEIR INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

Introduction

27. The Dynasties of the First Two Centuries.—When Augustus died, no constitutional law settled the question of the succession. Rome, however, spontaneously submitted to the principle of heredity, being the more ready to do so since Augustus had already conferred most important powers on his stepson, whom he had made his associate in the government, and whom he named as his successor. The principle of heredity, however, was new, had no basis in the past, and could not be applied with assurance that it would be followed. In fact, the only law which decided the succession during virtually the whole imperial period was the will of the army. The army remained faithful to the family of Augustus out of gratitude and respect for his memory. It made the Julian emperors, so called after Julius Caesar; these were succeeded by the Flavian dynasty, which, in its turn, was followed by the Antonines. The following is a list of the emperors of these three dynasties.

I. The Julian Emperors (14–68). (*Romans.*)

1. Tiberius, 14–37, the tyrant.
2. Caligula, 37–41, the madman.
3. Claudius, 41–54, the fool.
4. Nero, 54–68, the monster.

The year 69 is marked by civil war between emperors proclaimed by rival legions. Galba, Otho, Vitellius and Vespasian fight for the imperial power and Vespasian issues triumphant from the struggle.

II. The Flavian Emperors (69–96). (*Italians.*)

1. Flavius Vespasian, 69–79.
2. Titus, 79–81.
3. Domitian, 81–96.

III. The Antonines (96–192). (*Provincials.*)

1. Nerva,	96–98.
2. Trajan,	98–117.
3. Hadrian,	117–138.
4. Antoninus Pius,	138–161.
5. Marcus Aurelius,	161–180.
6. Commodus,	180–192.

With Septimius Severus (193–211), the first of the Barrack Emperors to succeed in firmly grasping the sceptre, the imperial crown passes from natives of Europe to African and Syrian princes.

I. The Julian Dynasty

28. Tiberius (14–37).—At the death of Augustus, Tiberius, his stepson, who was then fifty-six years old, quietly assumed the reins of government. The people in Rome and in the provinces were fond of the imperial rule, because it meant for them peace and plenty. The senators alone regretted the loss of their former privileges; but they were too corrupt to throw off the imperial yoke. Tiberius could rely on the support of the army, which he had commanded in Germany. But far from using this military strength to abuse his power, he gave for a time an excellent administration both to Italy and the provinces. His policy was based on justice and firmness. The choice of the governors of provinces was made according to merit, and their administration was subject to a strict supervision. Like Augustus, the new emperor was remarkable for his prudence and simplicity, but particularly for his economy, which enabled him to leave large funds in the imperial treasury at his death.

Unfortunately, the year 23 A. D. marks a turning point in the history of Tiberius. The emperor fell under the influence of the infamous Sejanus, whose power from then until 31, the year of his sudden downfall, grew daily. The favorite completely controlled his imperial master and aspired to the throne. To effect his purpose, he had poison

administered to Drusus, the emperor's son and heir, and determined to destroy the whole imperial family because it was an obstacle to the accomplishment of his designs. Tiberius himself was easily persuaded, by a telling picture of plots against his life in Rome, to retire to the island of Caprea (Capri) opposite Mount Vesuvius. While the emperor's retirement did not mean abdication, it is obvious that his favorite minister thereby gained greater freedom in the capital. Sejanus used it to his own advantage and against the "dangerous" relatives of Tiberius. It was only when he sought to do away with the emperor himself, and to place the crown on his own head, that his action was forestalled and his immediate execution followed (31).

Tiberius ruled for six more years, haunted by superstitious terror and surrounded by astrologers. The following words which he himself addressed to the Senate depict better than anything else the tortures which he endured: "May the gods and goddesses inflict on me a worse death than that which I die daily, if I know what or how to write or what to refrain from writing." Executions and proscriptions of Roman patricians were resorted to in order to insure his personal safety, and the reign of terror lasted until his death (37). These cruel measures, however, only affected the aristocracy; an excellent administration continued to procure the prosperity of the provinces. It was during the reign of Tiberius that our Lord was crucified at Jerusalem.

29. The Emperors Caligula (37–41) and Claudius (41–54). —Caius Caesar, surnamed Caligula, after the soldier's boot, "caliga," which he wore, succeeded his granduncle Tiberius. As son of Germanicus, the idol of Rome, his accession was hailed with the greatest enthusiasm throughout the empire and for a short time he justified the high hopes reposed in him. But, afflicted with epilepsy from his infancy, he fell dangerously ill about seven months after his accession. He recovered, but his mind was permanently affected, and he remained for the rest of his life a capricious madman.

Henceforth he was obsessed with one sole and fixed idea, that of his omnipotence. This unlimited power he wished to exercise not only over men, but over Nature and the gods. He was to be honored in place of Jupiter, his wife being associated with him in this worship, and, what is more, his horse, which he intended to name consul. Human lives were not considered by him. He killed for the pleasure of killing and spared neither friends nor relatives. He was heard to exclaim one day, "would that the Romans had all but one neck," that thus he might kill them off with one stroke. The sword of a tribune of the guard delivered the world from this madman.

After Caligula's assassination, a restoration of the Republic seemed probable; but the soldiers were opposed to such a change and placed on the throne, in return for a large sum of money, Claudius, the brother of Germanicus and uncle of the murdered emperor. He was the first emperor proclaimed by the troops in consideration for a money payment, a transaction which was to become popular at a later date. He has gone down in history with the surname of "the fool"; but he was perhaps weak rather than stupid. As the butt of the Julian family, he had not been well treated, and had divided his time between low company and the study of letters. He was fifty years old at his accession, and during his reign was controlled by intriguing favorites and unworthy wives. His last wife, Agrippina, administered poison to him, to secure the succession of her son Nero to the throne. The internal administration of Claudius was marked by the admission of some Gallic noblemen to the senatorial dignity and the extension of the Roman citizenship. Abroad, Mauretania, Thrace, and South Britain were added as new provinces to the empire.

30. Nero (54–68).—The first five years of Nero's reign constitute one of the most prosperous, just and beneficent periods of the empire. The young emperor (he was only seventeen when he began his reign) was under the excellent

influence of the philosopher Seneca and the general Burrus, whom his own mother had chosen for his preceptors and counsellors. But when his ambitious mother opposed his stepbrother Britannicus to him, because she was not able to seize the reins of government, he had Britannicus poisoned at a banquet, sought to get rid of his mother by drowning her, and, after the failure of this attempt, had her stabbed to death. He likewise had his young and innocent wife Octavia murdered. He was not only a monster of cruelty, but also insanely jealous, vain and hypocritical. He looked upon himself as a skilful charioteer, a capable actor, and, above all, a highly gifted musical performer. He descended into the arena, declaimed verses in the theatre, played the lyre before public audiences, and would readily consider success superior to his own in these accomplishments as an offense punishable by death. But he has become known more especially as the first persecutor of the Christians (see No. 14). The number and enormity of his crimes finally brought about his downfall. The legions in the provinces rebelled and proclaimed as emperor, *Galba*, the Governor of Spain. The example of the provinces was followed by the capital, and Nero, abandoned by all, took to flight. He sought refuge in the villa of a faithful freedman, where, as his pursuers were approaching, he committed suicide, uttering as his last words, "What an artist dies with me." In him died the last emperor of the Julian line.

II. The Flavian Emperors (69–96)

31. Vespasian (69–79).—Vespasian was the son of a tax-collector and was a native of Italy. Above all else a soldier, he had both the will and the ability to restore order in a distracted empire. Simple in his tastes, economical and industrious, he reintroduced discipline into the army, reformed the Senate, and reorganized the finances depleted by Nero's follies. He abolished the "Law of Majesty,"

The Coliseum, Rome

in virtue of which so many proscriptions had been decreed. He encouraged education by the appointment of teachers, like *Quintilian*, who were paid for the first time from the imperial treasury. He waged war in Gaul, but his name and that of his son Titus are especially connected with the war in Judea. It was in the early part of the reign that Titus destroyed the city and the temple in Jerusalem (70). The name of this dynasty is also perpetuated by the gigantic *Flavian Amphitheatre*, better known as the *Coliseum*, which was begun during Vespasian's reign. It could accommodate more than 80,000 spectators, and still stands in part. Vespasian died a natural death, sarcastically remarking, as he felt his end near, and thought of the divine honors paid to the deceased emperors, "I feel that I am becoming a god." He was succeeded by his son Titus.

32. Titus (79–81).—Titus reigned only for two years. His whole passion was the welfare of his people. "I have lost my day," he remarked on one occasion at the end of a day on which he had performed no good action. He has justly been called the "Delight of Mankind." It was during his reign that the first known eruption of Mount Vesuvius took place and destroyed the two cities of *Herculaneum* and *Pompeii*.

33. Domitian (81-96).—Domitian, brother of Titus, began his reign like Vespasian and ended it like Nero. The empire never knew a happier period than the first twelve years of his reign. Like his father, he insisted on the strict administration of justice, exercised watchful supervision over morals, save his own, and diligently repressed abuses, particularly in the provinces. Under him *Agricola*, the father-in-law of Tacitus, completed the conquest of Britain, and also reduced Scotland as far as a line drawn from the Firth of Forth to the Clyde.

In 93 the emperor, probably through fear and covetousness, became a cruel tyrant. The "Law of Majesty," which punished with death the offenses, real or fancied, against

the person of the emperor, was again enforced. According to its provisions, the condemnation of the accused carried with it the confiscation of his property. Numerous executions now followed. Fearing for his life, Domitian constantly changed the Pretorian Prefects. He also decreed the second persecution of the Christians, and, to safeguard his sovereignty, had the surviving relatives of the Savior brought to Rome. St. John was the most illustrious sufferer in the persecution. He was cast into a caldron of burning oil, and on his survival banished to the Island of Patmos. The distrustful tyrant aroused the disgust of the members of his own household, his wife entered the conspiracy formed against his life, and he was stabbed to death (Sept. 18, 96). The Senate, overjoyed at the news, decreed the destruction of his monuments and the erasure of his name from public inscriptions.

III. The Antonines (96–192)

34. Name and Rule of the Antonines; Nerva (96–98).—The name of Antonines (from Antoninus Pius, the best ruler of this class) is applied to six emperors who, with the exception of the last two, are connected only by the legal relationship of adoption. This method of choosing the rulers, introduced by Nerva, produced good results and gave the Roman State a series of excellent emperors. Their united reigns, covering almost a century, are considered one of the happiest periods in the history of mankind. The "Roman Peace" was disturbed only on the frontiers.

Nerva was sixty-five years old when he was proclaimed emperor by the Senate. He was a beneficent, but not a strong ruler. He repaired some of the injustices committed by Domitian, recalled the exiles, and restored the confiscated property that was still in the state's possession. But his chief merit lies in the adoption of Trajan as his successor.

35. Trajan (98–117).—Trajan, a native of Spain, was the

St. John the Evangelist (*Domenichino*)

first non-Italian emperor. He was a capable soldier and an excellent administrator. He undertook two campaigns against the Dacians and one against the Parthians. Under him the empire, now at its greatest extent, was ruled with prudence, firmness, and benevolence. The emperor entertained good relations with the Senate, maintained the favorable dispositions of the people by games and gladiatorial combats, and further developed the system of state endowed charity introduced by Nerva for the rearing of the children of poor parents. Great public works were executed during his reign. In Rome the *Forum of Trajan* was laid out and ornamented with the famous column celebrating the emperor's victory over the Dacians. In the provinces new roads, bridges, and aqueducts contributed to the material progress of the inhabitants. In grateful remembrance of him, the Senate adopted as greeting to his successors, "Be happier than Augustus and better than Trajan."

36. Hadrian (117–138).—Hadrian, the first bearded Caesar, was a cousin of Trajan. His inquisitive mind and prodigious memory were natural incentives to acquire the varied and extensive knowledge which he possessed. He was simultaneously a grammarian, rhetorician, philosopher, physician, poet, and architect. More important for a ruler were his qualities of a good general and an excellent administrator.

A greater lover of peace than Trajan who had adopted him, he did not extend the frontiers of the empire; on the contrary, he withdrew from some of the outlying provinces occupied during the previous reign. His aim in this withdrawal was to stop at strong natural frontiers. In Britain he moved back the Roman forces from the Firth of Forth to the Tyne, and built as a protection against the incursions of the Caledonians a wall across the island, which was named after him the "Wall of Hadrian." A fortified line was also established from the middle course of the Rhine to the Danube, and military posts were maintained along the course of the latter river. In the East Hadrian abandoned

the provinces of Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, making the Euphrates the boundary of the empire.

An indefatigable traveller, the emperor spent half of his reign in visiting the different parts of his dominions. His immense villa near Rome was a kaleidoscopic reproduction of the great monuments which he had seen and found most to his taste. In Rome, he built his famous Mausoleum, still admired by travellers from all countries, but now known as the castle of *Sant 'Angelo*.

The chief title to glory of this emperor lies in his reform of the imperial administration. It is from the time of Hadrian that the real administrative system of the empire dates. Up to his reign, the positions in the imperial offices were filled by freedmen. He decreed that free-born citizens should be appointed to them, thus assuring greater dignity to the administration and securing greater interest in state affairs. As regards justice, he collected all the edicts, published by the pretors anterior to his day, and united them in one systematic work, which became known as the *perpetual edict*.

37. Antoninus Pius (138–161).—Hadrian's adopted son succeeded him. He was so much admired for his virtues that his name has been attached to this series of emperors. He bettered the condition of the slaves, ordering that they be treated as human beings, interdicted the use of mob violence against Christians, maintained Trajan's charitable institution in favor of poor children, and created a similar organization for needy girls. No stirring events occurred during his reign. The undisturbed peace which prevailed earned for the emperor and his time the lasting and grateful remembrance of his contemporaries and posterity.

38. Marcus Aurelius (161–180).—Marcus Aurelius, his successor, was a *philosopher*, and on the throne remembered and lived up to his philosophical principles. He was kind, humane, disinterested, and spent his leisure moments in writing his "Meditations," a remarkable collection of exalted

CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO, BRIDGE AND ST. PETER'S, ROME

thoughts of pagan philosophy. Like his predecessor, he extended his protection to the slaves and increased the number of benevolent institutions. He loved peace and had literary tastes, but circumstances forced him to spend most of his time in military camps.

In spite of the beautiful sentiments expressed in his writings, his reign was marked by a severe persecution of the Christians. The persecution, however, was due more to an error of judgment than to cruel dispositions. Another grievous mistake on the emperor's part was to leave the empire to his worthless son.

39. Commodus (180–192).—Commodus came to the throne at the age of nineteen. As a boy of twelve, he gave an indication of his sanguinary instincts, when, finding his bath insufficiently heated, he ordered his bath attendant to be thrown into the furnace. But it was especially during his reign that this trait in his character revealed itself. He hastily concluded a shameful peace with the barbarians, and entered Rome in triumph, celebrating victories which he had not won. Neither the internal nor the external affairs of the empire occupied his thoughts. His one ambition was to distinguish himself in the arena as a gladiator, and the history of his reign is the history of his pleasures and murders. Poison put an end to the life of this insensate tyrant.

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CHAPTER III

THE EMPERORS, THEIR POWER AND INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION (193–476)

I. The Barrack Emperors (193–284)

40. Septimius Severus (193–211).—With the extinction of the Dynasty of the Antonines began again the bloody competitions for the imperial throne such as followed the extinction of the Julian Dynasty. The period extending from 193 to the accession of Diocletian in 284 has been called the period of the Barrack Emperors, owing to the fact that the emperors were set up by the army, and the imperial dignity was the sport and spoil of the legions. All but four of these emperors died at the hands of their subjects who revolted against them, and of the four, two perished in wars. Three months after the assassination of Commodus, the Pretorian Guards, who in the meantime had made and unmade one emperor, auctioned off the empire to the highest bidder. However, they had sold something it was not in their power to deliver, for, when the news of the disgraceful transaction reached the soldiers guarding the frontiers, each of the three provincial armies proclaimed its commander as emperor. The leader of the legions of the Danube, the African, Septimius Severus, defeated his opponents and became sole ruler (193–211). In order to consolidate his power, he disbanded the unworthy Pretorians, banished them from Rome, organized a new bodyguard of 50,000 legionaries, and decreed the execution of numerous senators who had supported his rivals. Apart from these executions and the cruelty exercised towards the Christians, the administration of Septimius Severus was both prudent and efficient. He displayed discerning judgment in the choice of officials, and was inexorable in the repression of abuses. The celebrated jurists of the day, Papinian, Ulpian, and Paulus, were his counsellors and friends. The emperor, however, was particularly active

as a military leader, and he spent most of his time on the frontiers, particularly in the East against the Parthians, and in the North against the Caledonians. It was during one of these northern campaigns that gout and fever caused his death at York in England (Feb. 4, 211).

41. Caracalla (211–217).—Septimius Severus was succeeded by his son Caracalla. This monster of cruelty and debauchery not only murdered his own brother in his mother's arms, but ordered Papinian to vindicate the crime in a public argument. When the illustrious jurist declined, saying that "it was easier to commit such a crime than to justify it," he was put to death. Numerous other executions stained this reign; they were decreed frequently for the slightest reason or no reason whatever.

Two events of the reign ought to be remembered:

1. The granting of citizenship to all the free inhabitants of the empire. This liberal measure was published, not with the intention of conferring greater rights on the people, but with the aim of increasing the revenues of the imperial treasury. For certain taxes, paid only by Roman citizens, could now be levied from all the free inhabitants.

2. The building of the *Thermae* or baths of Caracalla, one of the most imposing and magnificent structures of all time.

42. Aurelian (270–275).—It would be tedious to mention the numerous emperors of this period. Only a few words will be added here concerning Aurelian, one of the most efficient soldier-emperors. Born of humble parents in Pannonia, he entered the military service at the age of twenty, and rose rapidly from dignity to dignity until he was proclaimed emperor by his soldiers. He surrounded Rome with a strong wall of defense against the barbarians, abandoned Dacia to the Goths in order to secure peace on the Danube, and scored a signal triumph in the East over *Zenobia*. This celebrated queen aimed at establishing an independent empire in the East in defiance of Rome. Aurelian marched against her armies, defeated them, besieged and

reduced the capital *Palmyra*, and captured the queen herself, who graced his triumph at Rome and was detained as a prisoner, with her family, until the end of her life.

II. The Absolute Monarchy Established by Diocletian

43. Diocletian (284–305); **the Absolute Monarchy; Division of the Empire.**—Some of the predecessors of Diocletian, like Hadrian, Septimius Severus, Aurelian and others, had largely or entirely disregarded the authority of the Senate. But the absolute form of government, the *absolute monarchy*, was *formally* established by Diocletian and *completed in its organization* by Constantine. This new form of government seemed to have become a necessity, as the "Dyarchy" or rule by emperor and Senate had proved a failure, and the arbitrary proclamation of emperors by the legionaries had brought the state to the verge of ruin.

Diocletian, the son of a freedman, was commander of the Pretorian Guard when the council of officers raised him to the imperial dignity. The new emperor made important changes in the Roman administrative system, which may be grouped under the two following headings.

1. Division of the empire into four parts.
2. Reorganization of the civil administration.

In order the better to defend the peace and safety of the empire against the incursions of the barbarians and the power of usurpers in the provinces, Diocletian, in the very beginning of his reign, decided to divide the empire, without however destroying its unity, and to share his authority with his former companion-in-arms, Maximian. Maximian became coregent, and, like Diocletian, assumed the title of Augustus. He ruled the West with his capital at Milan, while Diocletian governed the East with residence at Nicomedia. At a later date Diocletian further subdivided the Roman dominions by the creation of two subordinate

rulers, known as Caesars. Galerius became Caesar in the East with Sirmium, near the present Belgrade, as his capital; and Constantius Chlorus was appointed to the same dignity in the West with Treves as residence. There were thus two *Augusti* and two *Caesars* with four capitals and four administrations.

Diocletian remained, in spite of the territorial divisions, supreme sovereign of the whole empire and introduced Oriental forms and great external splendor in court life. He adopted permanently the titles of Lord (dominus) and god (deus); prescribed that every one admitted to his presence should bend the knee, and wore around his forehead a diadem, that is, a fillet ornamented with pearls. He almost entirely suppressed the power of the Senate, which he did not even consult as a council of state. The appointment of the consuls was reserved to him, and the inhabitants sank from the rank of fellow-citizens to the position of subjects.

44. Civil Administration; Increase in the Number of Officials.—Diocletian divided the empire into 12 dioceses and 101 provinces, the term diocese being here understood in the sense of a civil administrative unit and not as designating an ecclesiastical division. At the head of the dioceses were the Vicars, "vicarii"; at the head of the provinces, the Governors, "praesides." The imperial officials were not only in charge of the civil administration, they were also the dispensers of justice. The salaries of these numerous officials in the government service, as well as the pay of the much increased army effectives, made a considerable raise in taxation necessary. Consequently the position and responsibility of the decurions, *i. e.*, the members of the city senate who were accountable for the accurate and timely levy of the taxes, became such a heavy burden that many sought in flight relief from its obligations. The commander of the army was the emperor himself, or the "magistri militum," under whom the dukes—"duces"—exercised their authority.

In this reorganization made by Diocletian, an administration carried on by civil officials was substituted for the former military rule. Local autonomy and provincial assemblies gradually disappeared.

45. Diocletian's Character and Abdication.—Diocletian was distinguished by consummate prudence, a keen knowledge of men, unyielding determination, and great thrift; he is, on the other hand, reproached with ambition and dissimulation. He pursued his opponents with relentless harshness. He restored order in the state and discipline in the army, and built sumptuous monuments, such as the Baths of Diocletian in Rome. His abdication, which took place in 305, was probably due to ill health. The once so powerful emperor now went into retirement at *Salona* in Dalmatia, where he unostentatiously devoted his time to agricultural pursuits. He died eight years later in 313.

His system of Augusti and Caesars governing the empire did not meet with the success which he had expected from it. Shortly after his abdication civil war followed between rival candidates for the highest dignity. Order was restored eventually by the triumph of Constantine at the battle of the Milvian Bridge, and all power was again concentrated in the hands of one man when the same Constantine defeated his brother-in-law Licinius at the battle of Chrysopolis in 323.

III. The Founding of Constantinople; Organization and Division of the Empire

46. Constantine founds Constantinople or New Rome on the Bosporus (330).—Wishing to give the empire a new capital, Constantine founded Constantinople on the site of ancient Byzantium. He was induced to make this foundation by a political and a religious motive. Political reasons demanded that the seat of empire be near the Danube, which was threatened by the Goths, and near the Euphrates, which was exposed to the incursions of the Parthians. As

for religion, it seemed desirable that the new faith should be given the opportunity of establishing itself with unrestricted freedom in a new city where the memory of the ancient gods was less vivid.

The site was remarkably well chosen. The new capital, located at a point where Europe and Asia meet, could, owing to its naturally strong position, be easily defended, and enjoyed the facilities of one of the best harbors in the world. The city was laid out on the Roman plan with forums, aqueducts, public baths, amphitheatres, Christian churches and pagan temples. Constantine invited the Roman aristocracy to this new city, forced the neighboring villagers to settle in it, and embellished it with artistic treasures brought from Greece. A special fleet was created to bring from Egypt the corn necessary for the sustenance of the inhabitants. The city grew very rapidly, it became the clearing house of the commerce between East and West, and its wealth and strong geographical position enabled it to resist all invasions for more than eleven centuries (330–1453).

47. The Emperor's Absolute Power.—Constantine completed the transformation of the empire into a well-organized autocracy. The assemblies, which, like the Senate, had been allowed to retain a nominal existence, were suppressed, and there remained only an *emperor*, *officials*, and *subjects*.

The emperor surrounded himself with all the pomp of Oriental despots. He wore a purple robe and a crown of gold, and his subjects approached him with that fear and awe which are inspired by a god rather than a man. His person was sacred and his power unlimited in its character and almost universal in its extent.

He was assisted in the government by a number of persons —ministers, who constituted the imperial household or palace. They formed with him the central administrative machinery, which controlled all things in the state. All orders were issued from the capital and were executed in

the provinces with promptness and precision. The civil, military, and financial affairs were, for greater efficiency, handled by separate departments and controlled by different officials.

As for the army, it resembled but faintly the military instrument which conquered the world. A legion comprised only 1,500 men, and the majority of the troops on the frontiers were barbarians. Thus incorporated into the army, the barbarian invaders gained, slowly and unnoticed, admission into the empire. They constituted a most unstable source of defense and in fact, owing to the numerous desertions, they had to be branded with a red hot iron to force them to stay with the colors. The time was fast approaching when the once powerful empire would crumble under the blow of invasion.

48. The Division of the Empire into Eastern and Western (395).—As already stated, the empire, which had again been united under Constantine, was divided into three parts at his death, and was governed by his three sons. In the course of the fourth century, East and West were frequently governed by different rulers. The permanent division into these two sections was made by Theodosius. According to his will he was succeeded at his death in 395 by his two sons: Arcadius and Honorius. Arcadius, then a boy of eighteen, became ruler of the East, whereas his brother Honorius, only eleven years old, received the West for his portion. The empire of the West lasted for less than a century (395–476); that of the East until 1453, when Constantinople was conquered by the Turks.

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CHAPTER IV

DEFENSE OF THE EMPIRE. THE MIGRATION OF THE NATIONS

I. Wars on the Rhine and the Danube

49. The Frontiers of the Empire.—Augustus had surrounded the empire with a line of permanent camps, and had stationed in them troops who were to defend the Roman dominions against the barbarians. He hoped that, with the frontiers thus guarded, the empire might securely enjoy peace and prosperity. But this very prosperity acted as an incentive to the barbarians. Ever attracted by the prospect of booty, they incessantly attacked the Roman frontiers. The whole history of the empire is accordingly marked by a continuous series of wars waged by the Romans, no longer for conquest, but for the defense of their vast dominions.

The sea, the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, and the desert formed, as has been seen, the boundaries of the empire. The sea was a secure protection to Spain and to the coasts of Gaul; the Sahara desert with almost equal security defended the African possessions. But terrible enemies threatened the other frontier lines; on the Rhine and the Upper Danube, the German tribes of various names and under various leaders; on the Lower Danube, the Dacians; on the Euphrates, the Parthians. Partly favored by the troubles created for the central government by the wars in the East, the Jews rose in rebellion and the Jewish war followed. Moreover, the Romans, wishing to protect more effectually their northern frontier, undertook expeditions into Britain and occupied part of the island.

50. Wars on the Rhine.—As the Germans across the Rhine were a constant menace to the Roman provinces, Augustus resumed Caesar's plan of reducing them to subjection. His general, Drusus, crossed the Rhine and conquered all the

territory to the Elbe. But the successful leader met an accidental death, and his successor Varus did not prove so able a commander. He was entrapped in the *Teutoburg Forest* by the German leader Arminius or Hermann, and was massacred with three of his legions (9 A. D.). The news of the disaster so affected Augustus that he is said to have been frequently heard to exclaim, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions."

The defeat was avenged only under the reign of Tiberius by Germanicus, who, after defeating the Germans, ravaged the territory of one of their tribes. The Romans, however, never succeeded in making the Elbe the permanent frontier of their empire. Domitian was again defeated on the Rhine, and under Trajan an artificial rampart was built to close the dangerous gap between the Rhine and the Upper Danube. This wall ran from Mainz to Ratisbonne, a distance of 336 miles. In spite of this strong barrier, the tribe of the Alemanni, about 259 A. D., crossed the Rhine, invaded Switzerland and southeastern France, and even ravaged northern Italy until it was defeated near Milan.

About the same time the Franks swept through Gaul, and, spreading everywhere ruin and devastation, penetrated even into Spain. Under Diocletian they threatened again to cross the Lower Rhine, but were defeated with the other tribes stationed along the same river.

51. Wars on the Upper Danube.—It was especially during the reign of Marcus Aurelius that the wars on the Upper Danube assumed importance. At that time the Marcomans and the Quadi crossed the river and proceeded as far as Greece and Italy. The news of the invasion struck terror into the Romans. As the best troops were then in the East, the emperor hurriedly gathered an army to resist the barbarians. Several expeditions against them were necessary to secure their enforced retreat, and the city of Vienna had to be strongly fortified to prevent further raids.

52. Wars on the Lower Danube. (*a*) *Against the Dacians.*—

The country across the Lower Danube, now known as Transylvania and Rumania, was inhabited by the Dacians, a race as fierce as the Germans. Their incursions into Roman territory were a source of annoyance to the inhabitants and of displeasure to the emperors. Trajan undertook against them a determined and successful campaign, which lasted for five years (101–106). He built a military road along the Danube, threw a monumental bridge across it near the famous defile of the Iron Gate, and penetrated into the mountains of Transylvania. The capital of the Dacians had to submit to the Romans, and their king Decebalus committed suicide. In order to consolidate the Roman power in this region, which was, as it were, the centre of gravity of the empire, Trajan settled Roman colonists on the banks of the Danube and in the interior of the country. The Dacians were easily assimilated by their conquerors and adopted the Latin language and civilization. They soon formed but one people with the Roman settlers. Dacia became a new Italy, where the name of Rome is perpetuated today in the designation of *Rumania*.

(*b*) *Against the Goths*.—In spite of Trajan's foresight, the Roman possessions on the Lower Danube were again to suffer from barbarian invasions in the third century. The powerful German tribe of the Goths then made raids into the Balkan provinces. During the reign of Decius two great Gothic armies crossed the Danube. They laid waste Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia, after which, laden with booty, they retraced their steps northward. Decius marched against these marauders, but was defeated in the first great battle he fought against them. In a second attempt to conquer them, he was not only defeated, but killed with his eldest son (251). The Goths from now on were ever troublesome neighbors of the Romans on the Lower Danube. They were always ready to renew their raids on Roman territory, and even the abandonment of Dacia to them by Aurelian only appeased their land-hunger for a time. They

were eventually to play a prominent part in the destruction of the Western Empire.

II. Wars in the East

53. Wars against the Parthians.—In the East, the most dangerous and elusive opponents of the Romans were the Parthians. Their daring horsemen ever sought to force the passage of the Euphrates. They were defeated by Crassus and later by Antony; but, though defeated frequently, they were never conquered. Numerous were the wars undertaken against them during the first three centuries of the Christian Era. They were defeated several times during Nero's reign; but Trajan and Marcus Aurelius had again to organize expeditions against them. Trajan's military successes in the East added to the empire three new provinces, Armenia, Mesopotamia and Assyria. The conquest was only temporary, however, as the same territory was given up by his successor, to be reconquered in part by the generals of Marcus Aurelius. When at a later date the Parthian kingdom was absorbed by the Persians, the struggle for a secure frontier was continued with varying success against the latter by the Roman emperors.

54. War against the Jews (67–70); Siege and Capture of Jerusalem.—The frontier wars in the East were an incentive to revolt in some of Rome's Oriental dominions. The most celebrated of such insurrections was that of the Jews. Judea for a considerable time (since 6 A. D.) had been administered by procurators. Roman rule in the province, long equitable and beneficent, became exceedingly tyrannical under Nero. Jewish patriotism and national sentiment, which had never yielded ready submission to Roman domination, now broke out in a formidable insurrection in which thousands of Romans were massacred (65 A.D.). Vespasian, the commander of the legions in the East, was appointed to suppress the rebellion. Two years of stubborn fighting

THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM (*Kaulbach*)

enabled him to reconquer Palestine, after frightful destruction. He delayed laying siege to Jerusalem, knowing that anarchy was reigning in the city and slowly reducing its strength. When about to invest the fortress, he was proclaimed emperor (69), and left for Rome, abandoning the command of the army to his son Titus.

Titus appeared before the gates of the city with 60,000 men in the spring of the year 70. The siege lasted five months and is one of the most famous sieges in history. Jerusalem offered a determined resistance; but was soon reduced to desperate straits by famine. Owing to the fact that just before the city was invested the Passover celebrations were being held, many Jews had flocked to their religious capital from foreign lands, and had more than doubled its population. Civil discord added its horrors to those of war with the foreigner; and to what extremities the population was eventually reduced can be readily surmised, when we are told that a mother, to satisfy the pangs of hunger, ate her own child. Those of the inhabitants who sought safety in flight from the city were captured by the Romans and nailed to crosses.

In spite of the distress in the beleaguered city, the Romans for a long time made but little progress in their operations. When they succeeded in making a breach in the outer defenses, each house became a fortress which had to be reduced separately. When the second wall was carried, the Roman soldiers found themselves before the temple, which by itself formed a strong citadel. Here the religious fanatics, known as *zealots*, had taken refuge, and, with the resolution born of despair, offered strenuous resistance to the conquering legions. Titus probably wished to preserve the temple, but a soldier threw a brand into the building; a fire ensued and consumed the edifice and its treasures. Not only the temple but the whole city was destroyed, and the words of the Savior were verified, that there would not be left in it a stone upon a stone. It is said that one million

Jews perished in the siege, and that 100,000 more were sold into slavery by Titus. The historical significance of the destruction of Jerusalem lies in the fact that with it ended the political existence of the Jewish people. Since then the Jews have lived scattered among foreign nations.

III. Wars in Britain

55. Britain and the Julian Emperors.—The wars waged in Britain were, in appearance at least, of a more aggressive character than those so far described. Previous to the Christian Era, Julius Caesar had visited Britain. His expeditions to the island (55 and 54 B.C.), however, are more famous for the description of the country and its inhabitants, which that able general and writer has left us, than for the military results which crowned his enterprises. Caesar merely taught the inhabitants a lesson; he did not attempt the conquest of their territory. The systematic conquest of the island was undertaken under Claudius, who held that Roman Gaul could not be secure so long as Britain was independent. The emperor himself for a short time took part in the war, and Roman power was established as far as the Thames and the Severn during his reign. Under Nero the Roman possessions were further increased by the subjugation of the hill-tribes of the West and by the reduction of Mona or Anglesey, the centre from which the Druids maintained a powerful agitation.

56. Julius Agricola in Britain.—An extensive forward movement in the colony was undertaken by Julius Agricola, Governor of Britain from 78 to 85. He subjugated and pacified the island as far as the mountains of Scotland. He even turned his arms against the wild *Caledonians*, as the inhabitants of Scotland were then called, skirted the north coast of Scotland with a fleet, and contemplated the conquest of Ireland. But he was recalled before he could carry out his far-reaching plans. He had had time, however,

to erect a line of forts, stretching from the Firth of Forth to the Clyde. But in spite of this strong defense, control over this distant country was neither easy nor complete, and the peaceful Hadrian, abandoning the northernmost territories, built a solid wall of stone running from the mouth of the Tyne to Solway Firth. In his plan this was to be Rome's scientific frontier in the north.

His successor Antoninus Pius, however, went back to the former more northern limits, and, like Hadrian, built a wall stretching across the island following the line of Agricola's forts. The two boundary walls go under the names of the emperors under whom they were erected. That of Antoninus Pius, however, was hardly ever defended with determination. The Emperor Septimius Severus spent indeed several years in the island, and successfully waged war against the savage tribes of the North; but with his death this resistance came to an end, and Hadrian's wall became the permanent boundary line in Britain. The end of the third century was marked, here as elsewhere, by attempts of the legions to name emperors, and dissensions and strife ensued; Diocletian's reforms, however, enabled Rome to wield again with firmer hand her power in this part of the empire.

IV. Migration of the Nations; Fall of the Empire

57. Emigration into the Empire.—The barbarians, it has already been stated, were at an early date admitted into the Roman military service, and were stationed on the frontiers. As the native Romans became more and more disinclined and unfit for the profession of arms, the necessity arose of opening to the barbarians the ranks of the legions garrisoned in the interior. Barbarian soldiers soon did duty in many of the empire's most prosperous cities.

But Rome lacked not only soldiers; she needed laborers as well. These also were found among the barbarians.

Farm hands were imported from Germany and were settled in the agricultural districts as colonists. They became attached to the soil and were generally sold with the land on which they lived. The number of such soldiers and colonists increased the more rapidly as the barbarians were fervent admirers of Rome, its wealth, its dignities and its culture. Many a barbarian chief sent his sons to Rome for their education; many a barbarian king solicited a title from the emperor. This open, but little noticed, conquest, or to use a modern expression, this peaceful penetration of the empire was successfully carried on, long before the great invasions occurred and completed the work. "The barbarians are everything," exclaims an ancient writer; "not one of our families is without a Goth in its service. In our cities the mason, the water-carrier, the porter are Goths." The barbarians even rose to high positions, first in the army and then at court. In 395, the dying Theodosius designated, as prime minister for his son Honorius, the Vandal *Stilicho*, to whom he had given one of his nieces in marriage.

58. Character of the Armed Invasions.—The armed invasions, excepting that of the Huns, were not, like military expeditions, undertaken for the destruction of an enemy or the conquest of a territory. They were rather migrations of nations: men, women and children bringing with them their cattle and their belongings. The invaders were not animated by hostile sentiments toward the countries which they traversed. But this almost countless multitude of people necessarily ravaged everything to obtain sustenance, consumed all foodstuffs and fodder along its line of march, and hence its coming was the worst of misfortunes.

In the fifth century, the barbarians found an almost completely open road affording entrance into the empire. They experienced no difficulty in crossing the frontier, which was guarded only by other barbarians. They could freely pass from province to province, for the armies which opposed them in the interior were greatly inferior to them as a

fighting force. The Romans had lost the science and art of war and did not possess in the same degree as their barbarian adversaries the passion for strife and the contempt for death.

59. Causes of the Invasions.—While one cause of the invasions must be sought in the warlike dispositions of the German tribes, another is furnished by the unmistakable decline of the Roman state. To these factors must be added the migration of the Huns advancing from the East (Asia) and pushing the Germans west and southward. The Huns, like the Turks, belonged to the yellow race; they were Asiatics and more savage than the Germans. As early as the second century of the Christian Era they were established around the Caspian Sea. In the fourth century they pushed westward, passing north of the Black Sea through the territory of the Slavic barbarians, who, in spite of the devastations of the invaders, remained on their settlements. The Huns reached the country inhabited by the Germans toward the end of the same century. Unlike the Slavs, the Germans abandoned their country, fled before the invaders and threw themselves on the empire in the hope of finding protection and a new home. With this contact between the Huns and the Germans began the general flight toward the Roman world and, consequently the migration of the nations.

60. The Visigoths cross the Danube and later found an Independent Kingdom in France and Spain.—In 375 the advance of the Huns westward threatened the Visigoths with extinction. In order to escape from the invading hordes, some of them took refuge behind the Carpathians in Transylvania. The bulk of the nation, however, crossed the Danube and sought safety in Roman territory. The Emperor Valens gave them grants of land in the Balkan Peninsula on condition that they defend the Danube frontier against new invaders. The agreement was not faithfully observed by the Romans, and war ensued between them and the Visigoths. In the decisive battle of Adrianople, fought in 378, Valens,

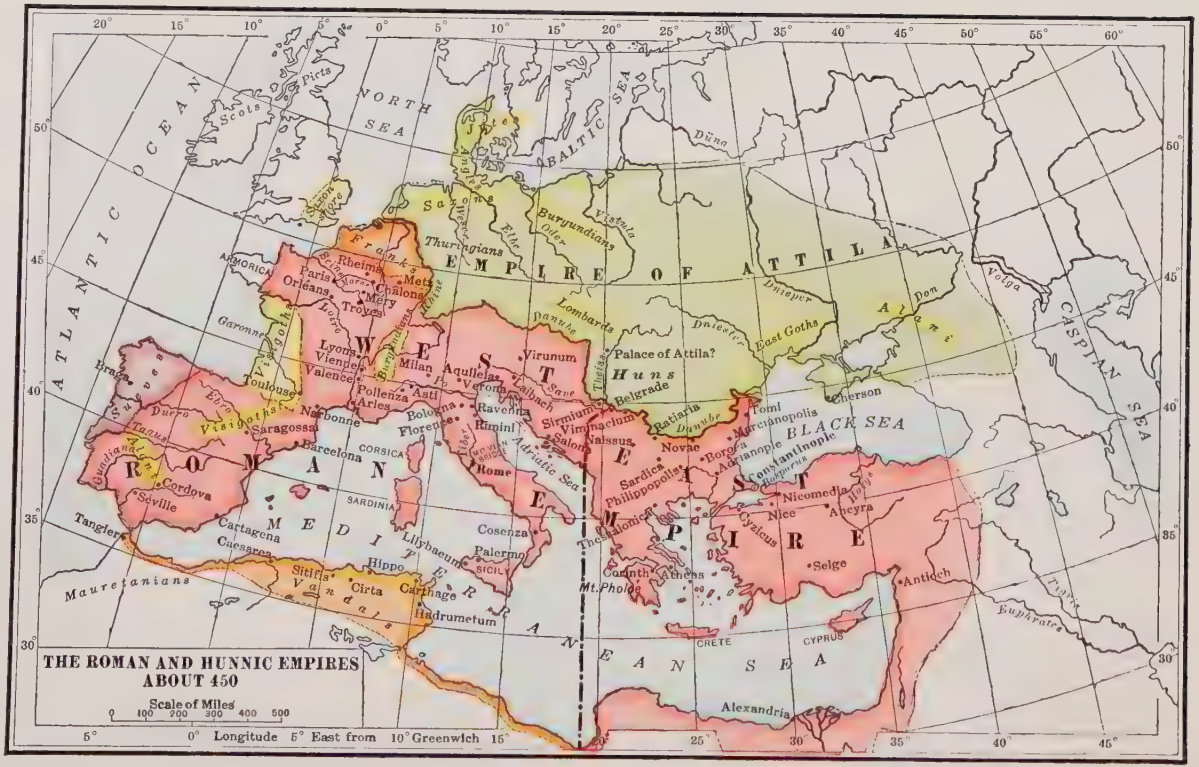
who commanded the Roman armies in person, was defeated and killed. However, though the triumph of the Visigoths was complete, the Emperor Theodosius the Great shortly afterward succeeded in pacifying them by assigning to them homes in Thrace. But it was not long before they resumed their wanderings. Under a powerful leader named *Alaric* (395–410) they pushed southward and devastated Macedonia and Greece (395-96). The emperor of the East, Arcadius, made over to them more Roman territory, but even these new concessions did not prevent attacks first on northern and then on central Italy. In 410, Alaric captured Rome and gave it up to the pillage of his soldiers for three days. It was an irreparable blow to the prestige of the Roman name and to the inviolable character of the once powerful metropolis. Alaric, however, had not come to stay; he proceeded southward, but died as he was about to cross over to Africa. His successor led the Visigoths to southern France, where they settled permanently in 419. Their kingdom included not only a large part of Gaul, but also Spain, and lasted until 711, when it was destroyed by the Mohammedans.

61. Conquests made by Other German Tribes in the Western Empire.—The withdrawal of Roman troops from Gaul and Britain, necessitated by the wars with the Visigoths, furnished other barbarians with the opportunity to break through the Roman frontier defenses.

1. *The Alemanni.*—Toward the end of the third century the Alemanni had already occupied the Roman possessions lying on the right bank of the Rhine. Later these barbarians also took possession of Alsace.

2. *The Franks.*—Further north the Franks crossed the Rhine and established themselves in Gaul.

3. *The Alani, Vandals, and Sueves.*—Members of these three tribes traversed Gaul and took possession of Spain. The Sueves established a kingdom in northwestern Spain, which, however, was destroyed at an early date by the Visigoths. It lasted from 409 to 585. More important


THE ROMAN AND HUNNIC EMPIRES
ABOUT 450
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude 5° East from 10° Greenwich
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
EMPIRE OF ATTILA
WEST EAST
ROMAN EMPIRE
Scots
Picts
Saxon Shore
Jutes
Angles
Saxons
Thuringians
Burgundians
Vistula
Oder
Elbe
Weser
Düna
Dnieper
Don
Volga
Alani
Dniester
East Goths
Lombards
Danube
Theiss
Save
Palace of Attila?
Huns
Belgrade
Ratiaria
Tomi
Marcianopolis
Cherson
Novae
Borora
Adrianople
Constantinople
Bosporus
Sardica
Philippopolis
Thessalonica
Nicomedia
Nice
Ancyra
Cyzicus
Selge
Antioch
Corinth
Athens
Mt. Pholoe
CRETE
CYPRUS
Alexandria
Euphrates
Tigris
Sirmium
Viminacium
Salona
Naissus
Adriatic Sea
Virunum
Aquileia
Verona
Laibach
Ravenna
Rimini
Rome
Cosenza
Palermo
SICILY
Lilybaeum
Hippo
Carthage
Hadrumetum
Cirta
Sitifis
Vandals
Cartagena
Caesarea
Tangier
Mauretanians
Cordova
Seville
Saragossa
Barcelona
Narbonne
Toulouse
Arles
Pollenza
Asti
Milan
Bologna
Florence
Lyons
Vienne
Valence
Orléans
Paris
Rheims
Metz
Châlons
Mery
Troyes
Franks
Rhine
Burgundians
Lombards
Vandals
Visigoths
Ebro
Duero
Tagus
Guadiana
Alans
Garonne
Loire
Seine
Marne
Rhone
Bragas
Sueves
ARMORICA
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Tiber
Po
Mt. Vesuvius
Rhodes
Cyprus

than either they or the Alani were their kinsmen, the Vandals. These were the least civilized among the Germanic tribes. Shortly after their settlement in Spain, they gladly accepted the invitation of the Roman general, Boniface, to pass into Africa and to help him to win his own independence from the Eastern Empire. Under their intrepid leader, Genseric, they arrived on that continent in 429 and established a kingdom of their own with Carthage as its capital. From here their ships pillaged the coasts of the western Mediterranean and even the city of Rome (455). Their power was destroyed in 534 and their territory again incorporated into the Eastern Empire.

4. *The Burgundians.*—These founded a kingdom on the Middle Rhine with their capital at Worms. But defeated by the Huns in 437, they proceeded southward and were granted territory by the Romans in southeastern Gaul.

5. *The Jutes, Saxons and Angles.*—About the middle of the fifth century began also the invasion of Britain by the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, which will be more conveniently spoken of later.

62. Attila and the Invasion of the Huns.—In 444, Attila, the most terrible and most powerful ruler of his day, became King of the Huns. He delighted in calling himself the "Scourge of God," and partly for this reason he is almost exclusively known today as the terrible military leader of cruel barbarian hordes. He was, however, not only a great general, but also a prudent and skilful diplomatist. His sumptuous court, amid the surroundings of which he always lived with great simplicity, was the real centre of European life; ambassadors, artists, generals and statesmen met here and enhanced in the eyes of the world the prestige and power of the ruler of the Huns.

His vast empire was inhabited principally by Germans whom he had subjugated. It seems to have extended from the frontiers of Gaul to the Caspian Sea and from the Lower Danube almost to the Baltic. It formed, however, only a

loose confederation of states: the conquered nations retained their kings and were bound only to pay tribute and to perform military service.

Like other barbarians, the Huns first attacked the Eastern Empire and laid it under tribute. Quarrels among the members of the imperial family which governed the Western Empire furnished Attila with a pretext for war. Honoria, the sister of Valentinian III, dissatisfied with the restrictions imposed on her at court, offered her hand in marriage to Attila. In reply the King of the Huns dispatched an embassy to the emperor which expressed his willingness to admit Honoria among his numerous wives and demanded the cession of half of the Western Empire as her dowry. The demand was refused, and Attila at the head of 500,000 men crossed the Rhine and invaded Gaul. He destroyed Metz and other cities on his way and laid siege to Orleans. The city was about to fall into his hands when Aëtius appeared with a Roman army. Confronted by this enemy, Attila retreated northward and awaited the hostile army in the vast plains along the Marne where his cavalry could maneuver freely. Here at Châlons in 451 the Asiatic hordes on the one hand, and the Roman and Germanic world on the other, engaged in a terrific battle. At the end the honors of the day lay with the Romans and their German allies. Attila recrossed the Rhine and returned to Pannonia (Hungary). Despite this reverse, he devastated North Italy in 452, but was induced by Pope Leo the Great not to attack Rome. After his interview with the Pope, in which moral influence triumphed over material strength, weakness over force, the powerful commander retreated with his army toward his dominions on the Danube. He died a sudden death shortly afterwards and his empire disappeared with him (453).

63. Odoacer and the Fall of the Western Empire (476).—Aëtius, the conqueror of Attila and "the last of the Romans," as he has been called, was murdered by Valentinian III in

454. After his death the real power over Italy was exercised by the commanders of the German mercenaries, who made and unmade emperors at will in the country of which they had taken possession. Not only were these emperors at the mercy of a foreign soldiery, but they could in no sense be considered the rulers of all the West, since Illyricum, Gaul, Spain, Africa and Britain were in the hands of various barbarian nations. About 474 the German troops in Italy were commanded by the Roman Orestes. He used his military power to place his son *Romulus*, a boy of six, on the throne of the Caesars. This action was shortly after followed by a mutiny among the mercenaries headed by *Odoacer*.

At the head of his troops, which were probably mainly composed of Heruli, Odoacer captured Rome and deposed the child emperor Romulus, who had in the meantime been nicknamed Augustulus or Little Augustus. Thus, by a strange coincidence, the last emperor who resided in Rome bore the name of the founder of the city and the name of the organizer of the empire. Odoacer assumed the title of "King of the Germans" in Italy. The Western Empire thus ceased to exist in fact, and Italy, like the rest of the West, was in the hands of the barbarians (476).

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CHAPTER V

ROMAN LIFE AND CIVILIZATION DURING THE EARLY CENTURIES

I. Classes and Customs of Roman Society

64. The Senatorial Order.—The Emperor Augustus divided Roman society into three very distinct classes: (1) *The senatorial order;* (2) *the equestrian order;* (3) *the plebeian order.*

Formerly the Senate itself was designated as the senatorial order. From the time of Augustus, the name was applied to a class of citizens who were eligible to the highest public offices and were candidates for a seat in the Senate. They had to fulfill several conditions to be admitted into the order. They must obtain an imperial nomination with the senatorial insignia, possess a private fortune not below one million sesterces or about $50,000, and receive the title "clarissimus," most illustrious. Membership was hereditary in the male line, provided the fortune remained at or above the specified minimum. This condition was, however, not easy of fulfilment for persons who had to serve in public office gratuitously, and who were not allowed to engage in commercial and financial operations or contract wealthy marriages outside their order. Not unfrequently, members of the order, to maintain their rank, needed assistance from the imperial treasury.

Appointed by the emperors, the senators were very often docile tools in the hands of imperial despotism. Theoretically they enjoyed the legislative power and the right of electing and deposing the emperors; but in practise they made little use of this twofold privilege. The Senate was also a supreme court of justice and was the only competent tribunal in criminal offenses committed by its own members.

65. The Equestrian Class.—Below the senatorial order was the equestrian class. It comprised the citizens, who,

being worth at least 400,000 sesterces, or about $20,000, had been registered by imperial order among the "equites" or knights. From among them the emperor chose the higher imperial officials, such as the military officers and the financial administrators. The senatorial and equestrian class formed the new imperial aristocracy.

66. The Plebeian Order.—The citizens who did not belong to either of the above two classes formed the plebeian order. The rights of this class were neither considerable nor extensive. However, there was some attempt at self-betterment, for, realizing the fact that an individual, acting alone, is unable successfully to defend himself, the different members of the same trade organized themselves into associations or unions, "Collegia." These unions increased wonderfully and were after a while officially recognized in the empire. Their presidents vindicated the rights of the members before the provincial magistrates, and at times even before the emperors.

67. Slavery.—Outside Roman society, under the empire as well as the republic, were the unfortunate slaves. Their position in the Roman State during the later republican period will be sufficiently realized if the words of Varro be remembered that they were "vocal agricultural implements." Their condition improved, however, under the empire, partly owing to a more humane pagan philosophy and particularly owing to the influences of Christianity. A law, which probably dates back to Nero's reign, forbade, under certain circumstances, the selling of slaves. Other prohibitions took away from the masters the right to kill or mutilate them. Gradually but slowly slavery was to be supplanted by serfdom. This process, though begun in the fourth century, was not completed until long after the fall of the Western Empire.

68. The Workday of a Roman.—At Rome, as in most hot climates, the activities of the day began at a very early hour. At sunrise a stream of clients wended its way to the

residences of the aristocracy. They went to offer greetings, to solicit the appointment to an office or to ask for an invitation to dinner. The morning hours were devoted to business transactions, to public lectures and to meetings, in which the latest news and current events were discussed. It was also in the forenoon that weddings were celebrated, birthday parties given, and outings enjoyed on the great social thoroughfare, the Appian Way.

The business day came to an end at one o'clock in the afternoon. A bath was then indulged in, either at home, or preferably in one of the numerous and magnificent *thermae*. These thermae or public baths were the centres of social intercourse in Rome. Here the Roman met his friends, played or watched the games, and found distraction in gossiping, wrestling, or listening to a concert. About three o'clock all classes of society partook of their principal meal. The poor ate in inns remarkable for their filthiness and their cheap prices. The wealthy dined at home and usually prolonged their dinner till a late hour. Even the best among them spent two or even three hours at table. It was for them a time of rest and recreation, during which they enjoyed the pleasing conversation of a friend or were amused by musicians, comedians, and dancers. With the spread of corruption in the empire, the number grew ever larger of those who spent the night in eating and drinking and gave themselves up to debauchery.

II. Education in Rome

69. A Roman School-Day.—Earlier even than the early Roman business day, the school-day began before dawn, and the children were obliged to carry lamps in winter time. The scholars were usually accompanied on their way by a servant who had charge over them. The classes lasted probably about six hours. Hard work was required of the pupil, and energetic means were used to encourage him.

The copying of texts was among the punishments inflicted; but to this the more efficacious means of the switch, the whip, or the leather strap was usually preferred. Numerous holidays provided pleasant interruptions of the school-work, and a long summer vacation contributed its share to make the student's life bearable.

At the age of seven the young Roman began his studies under the "literator" or *schoolmaster;* at the age of twelve he passed to the *grammarian,* and from him to the *rhetorician* at the age of sixteen. After a course in rhetoric, students frequently went abroad, to Athens, Alexandria, or other centres of learning, to complete their education.

70. Subjects of Study; Social Position of the Teacher.— At the elementary schools of the literator, the child was taught the first rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic. With the grammarian, the Greek and Latin authors were studied. The authors were read aloud, and questions were asked on geography, mythology, and other subjects. These grammar schools were conducted indoors. If the teacher enjoyed the good will of the city authority, he obtained the use of a room in a public building; otherwise he had to rent a room at his own expense. The classes were usually large. The lecturer sat on a high chair, while the pupils occupied benches. The grammarian generally belonged to a humble class. His life was a hard one; a great deal was expected for little pay, and even this pittance was frequently withheld by the parents on the plea that the child had made no progress. The parents also annoyed the teacher with questions to test his knowledge. Inability to answer these, ridiculous as they often were, resulted in the loss of a pupil or his fee, or perhaps both. Since school began before dawn, the grammarian was often made the butt of insults and criticisms by those who were disturbed in their slumber through the recitation of the pupils.

By the grammarian the pupils were promoted to the school

of the rhetorician, where they began to train in a special manner for a political or legal career, or for any other profession which they intended to adopt in later years. They were now listeners rather than pupils, and witnessed, and at times took part in, oratorical contests. But little attention was paid to art and still less to the sciences. The teacher of rhetoric was more highly regarded than the grammarian, and sometimes secured a good income from his profession. Since it was the chief aim of the rhetorician to train the student in eloquence, he could teach in almost any place, and prided himself on being prepared anywhere for practise. He lectured in the public baths, under the porticoes, or even in the open air.

71. The Roman State and Education.—During the republican period the care of education was left entirely to private initiative. No conditions were imposed, no degree of scholarship and no certificates were required of the teacher; anybody might open a school, just as any one might open a store. All responsibility for the proper education of their children was left to the parents whose concern it was to select competent teachers.

Under the empire a change occurred in this policy, and the state began to interest itself in educational matters. The Emperor Trajan provided for the education of 5,000 Italian children. Hadrian created and maintained at his own expense numerous schools in the provinces. He also founded the Athenaeum, a large public institution, in which rhetoricians delivered lectures in Latin and Greek. Alexander Severus established schools in many towns with the stipulation that poor children must be admitted to them free for one year. Despite these instances of imperial generosity, the towns usually furnished the larger part of the expenses incurred for educational purposes. The encouragement extended by the state to education produced excellent general results and also rendered the teaching profession less precarious and more honorable.

III. Public Amusements and Social Conditions

72. Public Holidays; The Gladiatorial Combats.—A large part of the year of every Roman was made up of public holidays. Out of 365 days 135 were holidays under Marcus Aurelius. Among these are not included even the extraordinary days of public amusement which lasted sometimes for months. To the theatrical representations and the chariot races of the Republican period were added under the Empire the *athletic games* and the *combats of the amphitheatre*. The athletic games became frequent after Augustus, but with the masses they never enjoyed the popularity of the gladiatorial combats. The gladiators were recruited in several ways; they were frequently prisoners captured in war or criminals arrested for some misdeeds, at times also freemen who voluntarily took up the profession. Then, too, slaves were not unfrequently trained as gladiators by thei owners and hired out for public games. Domitian founded four imperial schools of gladiators near the Coliseum, and similar institutions were established in the provinces.

The gladiators fought on foot, on horseback, or on chariots; they were opposed in pairs or in groups. Under the empire games were given, in which as many as 500 pairs of gladiators fought among themselves. Before the combat they appeared in procession before the emperor, saying: "Hail, Caesar, those who are about to die, greet thee." A gladiator, after being wounded, raised his finger to ask for mercy. If the spectators were inclined to indulgence, they waved their kerchiefs; the thumb, pointed downwards, was, on the contrary, a sentence of death. No mercy was shown to cowards. The dead bodies were removed with iron hooks by slaves; the application of a red hot iron decided whether death was real or feigned. Those wounded beyond possibility of recovery were dispatched in the mortuary chamber. These spectacles, so bloody and revolting in character, formed the delights of the Roman people.

73. Combats of Wild Beasts; Naval Battles.—Even combats of wild beasts were staged in the amphitheatre. The beasts either fought among themselves or were opposed by gladiators, more particularly known as "bestiarii." The sole weapon of these gladiators was a lance or sometimes a sword. The amphitheatre was likewise the scene of capital executions. Persons condemned to death were delivered up defenseless to the wild beasts. This was the penalty which was most frequently inflicted on the Christian martyrs. On certain occasions also the arena was flooded, and naval battles were fought in it. The emperors spared no pains to satisfy the bloodthirsty instincts of the multitude, and directed with the utmost care the organization of all public festivals.

74. Political and Family Life, Social Conditions.—The republican period of Roman history was marked by intense activity in political life and by an austere simplicity in the family relations. But under the emperors the people lost all interest in public affairs, as the imperial will was the sole and supreme law and neither senate meetings nor popular assemblies could exert any influence on the destinies of the empire. The Forum, formerly the busy scene of popular agitation, was now silent, and eloquence almost a dead art.

Family life, too, fell a prey to moral corruption. Idleness and pleasure seemed to be the chief concerns in the life of a Roman. The emperors encouraged these tendencies, by providing, in order to prevent insurrections, food and amusement for the people. Their aim in the government was "peace in the provinces; bread and amusements in Rome." To satisfy an ever more exacting populace, they expended with unheard-of extravagance the funds of the state treasury. Rome became a city of beggars with a passion for amusement and a horror of work. The less needy of its inhabitants became the clients of the nobility whose atria they crowded every morning waiting for the "sportula," viz., the little basket of provisions. The lower

classes lived entirely on the public distributions of wheat and on the donations of some wealthy personages. To fill their idle hours, amusements, in constantly increasing number, had to be provided by the public authorities and were paid for out of the imperial treasury.

75. Moral Life.—As to the morals of this period, the less said, the better. Two words will sum up their character: voluptuousness and cruelty. Their voluptuousness is sufficiently apparent in the sumptuous repasts, the nights spent in eating and drinking, the promiscuous character of the public baths, and the revolting immorality of theatrical representations. Their cruelty is abundantly evidenced by the brutal treatment meted out by noble matrons to their unfortunate female slaves for the slightest offenses, and by the bloodthirsty scenes in the amphitheatre, in which even the Roman ladies took a prominent and dishonorable part.

IV. Roman Law and Art

76. Roman Law.—The two distinctive creations of Roman genius were *Roman Law* and *Roman Architecture.* Both owed their origin to the practical needs of the Romans in the government of the world. After conquering the universe, they ruled it in a masterly manner and organized a most perfect administrative system. They framed for their dominions a uniform code of laws and trained an efficient body of officials. These two things—uniformity and efficiency—were essential for the effective exercise of the emperors' absolute power in territories beyond their immediate control. They were forced to rely in such provinces on subordinates for the execution of their orders, and their officials themselves needed the guidance of definite laws.

The merit of establishing the Roman administrative system on this firm and practical basis must be ascribed to the Emperor Hadrian. He introduced the coordination of the various government departments, the graded system of

offices, and the regular promotion of officials "cursus honorum." Where the people had so far been at the mercy of the whimsical rulings of pretors, he established a general law or code applicable everywhere. It was based on precedent and existing laws, and was called the *perpetual edict.* It defined the rights and duties of every citizen in his relations with his fellow-citizens and with the state. A permanent civil code thus became the basis of human institutions. The Roman Law outlasted the Roman State. It has been used in various forms as an instrument of government in many countries and is studied even today by all civilized nations.

77. Roman Art.—In the arts the Romans borrowed largely from the Greeks. Instead of founding schools of sculpture, they imported their statues from Greece, where, on account of slave labor, works of art were produced at a reasonable price. Their great paintings also were either bought in Greece or were spoils of war. The only art in which they excelled and on which they impressed their distinctive character was *architecture.* While they borrowed from the Greeks even in the building art, they added their own original contributions in the following characteristics: adaptation for utilitarian purposes, enormous proportions, the vault, the arch, and the cupola.

Many of the emperors were great builders. The monumental structures which they reared, generally had for their object public utility or popular amusement. They built public baths, theatres, temples, basilicas or courts of justice, and other such monuments. Imposing buildings were erected not only in Rome, but also in the provincial cities. "Augustus sought to make Rome outwardly worthy of her great imperial position, and to foster the pride which the Romans took in the queen of cities. The grandeur of its public buildings was to serve as proof of its majesty, its prosperity, and its permanence." The successors of Augustus, imitating his example, likewise sought to embellish

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, ROME

the capital. Like him also they built and improved roads, promoting travel and encouraging commerce. As the country was no longer engaged in wars, soldiers were employed in the arts of peace. It was owing largely to them that the empire possessed such a network of magnificent roads, and that even its most distant parts could be reached with ease and rapidity.

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SECOND PERIOD

THE MIDDLE AGES (476-1517)

INTRODUCTION

THE CHIEF FACTORS IN MEDIEVAL CIVILIZATION; PRINCIPAL THEATRE OF EVENTS

78. The Chief Factors in Medieval Civilization.—The period of history extending from 476 to 1517 has rightly been called the Middle Ages, because it occupies a middle position and forms the transition period between Ancient and Modern times. Down to the time when the Western Empire fell to pieces under the ever repeated blows struck by the barbarians, Greco-Roman civilization predominated and strongly marked its impress on the history of the world. Its influence was not destroyed, but considerably reduced by the barbarian conquerors. We may distinguish four principal sources of medieval civilization, four elements which produced the culture of the Middle Ages, viz., (1) Greece; (2) Rome; (3) The Germans; (4) Christianity. As is obvious, the first three were *national* in character, the last *religious*. The influence of Greece during and after the flourishing period of her history was felt more especially in the speculative branches, in *science, art, and philosophy*. In these subjects Roman productions were only too frequently imitations, and at times slavish imitations, of Greek models. The Romans, however, were unexcelled as the *lawmakers* and the *rulers* of the universe. So perfect and well regulated was their government and administrative system that almost all modern states have borrowed from them. Their admiration for the power of the state was so highly developed that, according to the old Roman idea, the state was supreme in all things, religion included. It was this notion of state supremacy which led in Christian times

to the many conflicts between state and church, between the civil power and religious authority.

To these ancient national elements the invasions added a new race—the *Germans*. They contributed the very thing most needed at the time—*new blood*. Deep moral corruption had undermined the strength and largely caused the downfall of the Roman world. In it there now appeared a new and vigorous race, knowing nothing of ancient culture, but ignorant also of its vices. Besides this new vigor infused into a dying race, the Germans also brought with them a strong sense of *individual independence*. The idea of the all-powerful state thus received a counterpoise in the idea of individual rights. It is especially in English-speaking countries that this personal freedom cherished by the Germanic invaders was to be highly prized, jealously guarded, and fully developed.

These three racial elements exercised their power and unfolded their activity under the inspiring and strengthening influence of a superhuman and divine force—*Christianity*. The Christian religion inculcated in these races the great principles of right thinking and right living. Civilized Romans, as well as uncultured barbarians, were taught the eternal truths to be believed by every follower of Christ and the sacred duties to be performed by every such believer. Of such a universal character and of such far-reaching consequence was the influence of Christianity, that the history of the Middle Ages cannot be understood without a consideration of the power of the Christian religion over the men of the time. The spirit of faith and the practise of self-renouncement differentiate the medieval period essentially from ancient times.

79. Principal Theatre of Events.—While the lands of the Mediterranean basin played a principal and almost exclusive part in the history of antiquity, the theatre of events extended in the Middle Ages to all central Europe as far as the North and Baltic Seas. In the Mediterranean lands the

commingling of the original Latin population with the new Germanic settlers produced the Latin or Romance nations. The languages—French, Italian, Spanish—peculiar to them were derived from the popular or rustic Latin and are known as Romance languages. In northwestern and central Europe independent German states were organized. In addition to these two important results of the migration of nations, another of its effects also should be noted, *i. e.*, the westward movement of the Slavs. Closely following the advance of the Germans they proceeded as far west as the Elbe River. Their relations with their western neighbors form an important chapter in the history of the Middle Ages.

FIRST EPOCH

From the Fall of the Western Empire to its Restoration under Charlemagne (476–800).

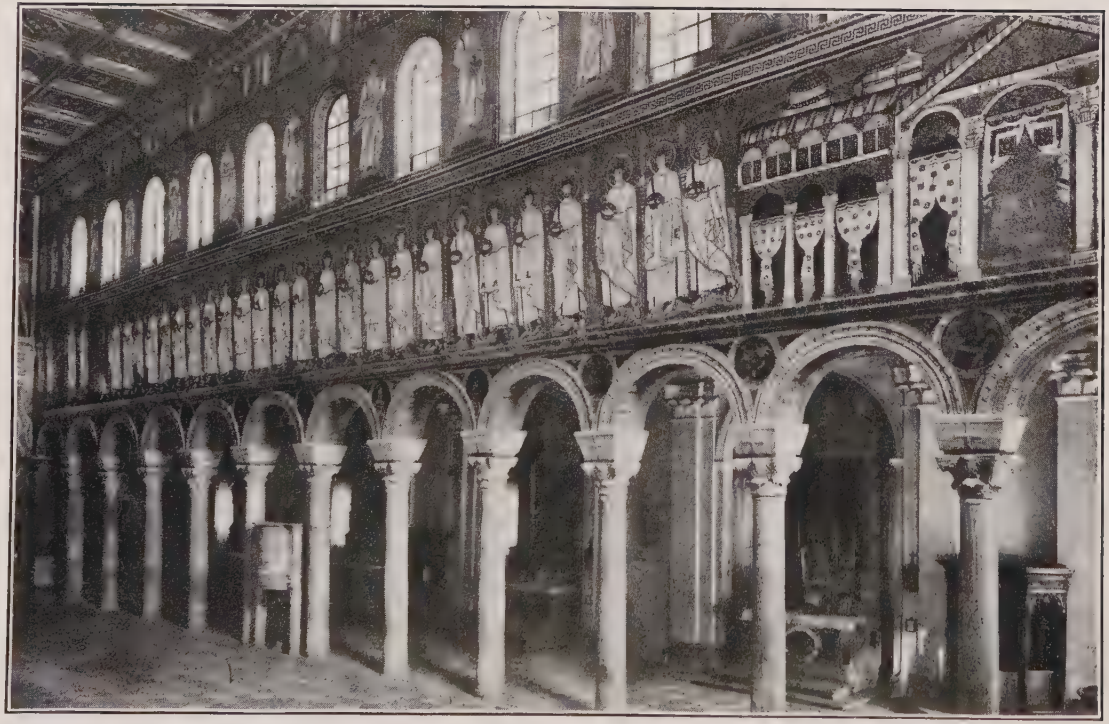
CHAPTER VI

ITALY FROM 476 TO 800

I. The Kingdom of Odoacer; the Ostrogoths

80. The Kingdom of Odoacer (476–493).—After his capture of Rome, Odoacer allotted to his mercenaries one-third of the land in the conquered territory. His warriors were settled on estates all over Italy. For the rest, but little was changed in the existing institutions. The authority of the barbarian conqueror extended not only over Italy, but also over Dalmatia and parts of Raetia and Noricum. His rule was, however, not to be of long duration, for before the end of the fifth century another German tribe invaded Italy. These newcomers were the Ostrogoths. After the passage of the Huns, they had received permission from the Eastern emperor to settle in Pannonia. But unable to derive from this territory an easy sustenance, they moved further south and occupied Moesia. To induce them to abandon this province the Emperor Zeno suggested to Theodoric, their king, the conquest of Italy. The Ostrogothic ruler took the advice and proceeded westward with about 250,000 followers. He defeated Odoacer in three encounters and forced him to seek refuge in the stronghold of Ravenna. It was only after receiving a solemn pledge that his life would be spared that Odoacer surrendered this stronghold. Theodoric, however, far from keeping his promise, killed him with his own hand (493).

81. Theodoric the Great (493–526); **the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy** (493–555).—Theodoric the Great (493–526), the most celebrated ruler of the Ostrogoths, had spent some time at Constantinople before his accession to the



INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF ST. APOLLINARE NUOVO (6TH CENTURY), RAVENNA

throne. In the great capital he had become acquainted with the treasures of ancient civilization. This explains the protection which he extended to arts and letters. As regards administration and the distribution of land, he changed but little the existing conditions, except that his followers received the estates occupied by the supporters of Odoacer. His empire extended over Italy, including Istria and Dalmatia. He took up his residence at Ravenna, which he embellished by the erection of important monuments, some of which are still admired today. He encouraged agriculture and enforced such a strict administration of justice that in his day, according to legend, money left on the roads of Italy would remain there for years.

In spite of this excellent rule, the empire of Theodoric lacked the elements of unity and population necessary to insure its permanency. The Goths were far inferior in number to the conquered Romans, were despised by these as barbarians, and hated as Germans and Arians. This antagonism led to secret agreements between prominent Romans and the Emperor Justinian, which Theodoric sought to suppress by indiscriminate infliction of capital punishment. The most illustrious victim of this severity was the philosopher Boëthius, whose works were among the popular texts of the Middle Ages.

Theodoric, to the end of his reign, successfully withstood all intrigues against his rule, but, after his death, the already precarious situation was further complicated by dissensions in the royal family. The Emperor Justinian, whose aim was to reunite the Eastern and Western Empires, made use of this discord to reconquer Italy, as he also reconquered North Africa from the Vandals. In its war against the Ostrogoths the Eastern Empire, ably served by two remarkable generals, *Belisarius* and *Narses*, enjoyed the sympathy of the Italian population. The Goths performed prodigies of valor notably under their King Totila; but the numerical superiority of their adversaries eventually tri-

umphed over them, and in the year 555 their kingdom was merged into the Byzantine Empire.

II. Byzantine Rule in Italy; the Lombards

82. Justinian I the Great (527–565).—The reconquest of North Africa and Italy occurred under Justinian, one of the most important rulers of the Eastern Empire. He won fame in war, law and architecture. His successes in war were scored particularly in the West; in the East he not only made no conquests, but was forced to organize a strong defense against the Slavs and the Avars and even to pay tribute to the Persians. His name became famous in architecture through the monumental public buildings which he erected, particularly the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, one of the world's greatest monuments. In law his name will always be associated with the *Code* which was published during his reign and still forms today the basis for the study of Roman legal theories and practises. The successes of his reign were due to an efficient administration, a well-organized army and an ingenious system of diplomatic relations. But owing to the increase in the already heavy taxation, the emperor was not popular with his subjects. Nevertheless the empire, owing to its superior culture, maintained itself for centuries and rendered invaluable services to civilization by its resistance to the Arabs and the preservation of ancient literary and artistic treasures. Although Greek was adopted by the government about the year 600 as its official language, the inhabitants continued to call themselves Romans.

83. Byzantine Rule in Italy.—In spite of their attachment to the Roman name, the Greeks did not choose Rome as the capital of the reconquered Italian territory. The governor or representative of the emperor was known as *exarch* and resided at Ravenna; the possessions under his authority were called the *Exarchate*. The comparatively considerable

territory which it comprised under Justinian did not all remain under Byzantine rule after his death. Some of it was again lost through the inability of the Eastern Emperors to defend it. Owing to the lack of financial resources, the number of mercenaries necessary to fight the wars of the empire could not be secured and maintained in the field. To this powerlessness of the government was added the treason of the Exarch Narses who, to avenge a personal insult, is said to have asked the Lombards to undertake the conquest of Italy.

84. The Kingdom of the Longobards or Lombards (568–774).—The Longobards, so called according to legend from their long beards, according to authentic history from their long lances (hallebards), were granted land in Pannonia by Justinian. They left this province in 568 under their King Alboin, and invaded Italy. In a short time they conquered all the northern part of the country (which from them was called *Lombardy*) and also parts of Middle and Lower Italy. But as they possessed no navy, they were unable to drive the Greeks from the coast towns; Rome also withstood their repeated attacks. The exarchate of Ravenna continued to exist, though much reduced in size; in the north the Lombards, whose capital was Pavia, extended their dominions as far as Bavaria. Through their conquests and the maintenance of the Byzantine power in certain districts of Italy, the peninsula was cut up into different states and remained in this condition from 568 to 1870.

An important change was introduced by the Lombards in the government of Italy. Up to their conquest, Roman officials were in charge of the administration of the country. They had maintained themselves even through the period of Gothic rule, but were now replaced by Lombards, and the country was divided into small principalities. As regards the royal succession, it was interrupted for about ten years by the double assassination of Alboin and of his son. After this period of disorder, the danger threatening

from the Byzantine Empire in the east and from the Franks in the west forced the Lombards to forget their differences and unite. They chose for their king *Autharis*, Alboin's grandson. He married the Catholic Bavarian princess *Theodelinde*, through whose influence the conversion of the Lombards to the Christian religion was begun. This religious change brought with it better relations between the Romans and the invaders and the consequent latinization of the latter. Their empire, nevertheless, did not enjoy long duration; for their ambitious desire to conquer Rome caused the destruction of their power in 774.

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Tomb of Theodoric the Great, Ravenna

CHAPTER VII

THE BRITISH ISLES TO 800

I. England

85. The Invasions of the Angles and Saxons.—With the Roman conquest of Britain, prosperity and good order were introduced, in a very considerable degree, into that part of the island which came under Roman control. The occupation bore, however, a superficial character; the Celtic tongue did not disappear and yield its place to Latin, and there was no close fusion between the two races. Even in point of administration, Britain's connection with Rome was a rather loose one; the government was in the hands of more or less independent military commanders, and as several of these led their troops to the continent in an attempt to conquer the imperial crown, the country was at times completely left to itself. It was such an attempt to usurp the imperial power which resulted in 407 in the permanent withdrawal of the Roman legions. No army was sent back to the island, and in 410 the Emperor Honorius wrote from Italy urging the cities of Britain to provide for their own defense, as the imperial troops were needed elsewhere against the barbarians. The island thus ceased to be a Roman province (410).

The country, abandoned to itself, relapsed into anarchy. It offered an easy prey to the ever-dangerous inroads of the Picts and Scots of the north. These tribes soon extended their raids as far south as the Thames. In this extremity a king of the Britons, Vortigern, turned for help to the Saxon pirates who were cruising in the Channel. These marauders, led by the two brothers Hengist and Horsa, agreed to provide the desired assistance and landed in the island of Thanet at the mouth of the Thames (449). For six years they faithfully fought the battles of the Britons against the Picts.

But, attracted no doubt by the riches of a fertile country, they decided to stay and make a permanent settlement. The Britons cut off their supplies; the Saxons rebelled, and the fortune of war decided against the original inhabitants. The conflict between the Britons and the Germanic tribes lasted for about a century and ended with the definitive establishment of the latter in the island. The conquerors belonged to three principal peoples: the Jutes, whose name still appears in Jutland, their original home; the Angles and the Saxons, whose names have since been used in different forms in English history.

86. The Heptarchy or Seven Kingdoms.—The political condition of Britain was profoundly modified by the conquest. Seven Germanic kingdoms were successively organized in the course of the sixth century. They were the three kingdoms of the Angles: *Northumbria*, north of the Humber; *East Anglia*, between the estuary of the Wash and the Stour River; and *Mercia*, in the centre of the island. In the southeast corner the Jutes founded the kingdom of *Kent*. The Saxons, like the Angles, formed three kingdoms, that of *Essex* (East Saxons), *Wessex* (West Saxons), and *Sussex* (South Saxons). These seven kingdoms became known under the Greek name of Heptarchy, and the island received the name of Angleland, England, country of the Angles.

The Britons, unable to offer effective resistance to the invaders, withdrew to the western part of the island, notably to the mountainous districts of Wales. Some of them left the country altogether and settled in Armorica, *i. e.*, that northwestern part of France which from them received and still keeps the name of *Brittany*.

87. The Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons.—Not only the difference of race but the difference in religion also separated the Anglo-Saxons from the Britons. The former were pagans; the latter Christians. The date at which the Gospel was first preached in the island is not definitely known; but it

is certain that Christians in fairly large numbers were to be found there at the end of the third century. It was not from their neighbors, however, that the Anglo-Saxons were to receive the glad tidings of the new religion. The first missionaries were to come directly from Rome, the centre of unity.

Pope Gregory I, the Great, before his accession to the papal throne, desired to become personally the apostle of this nation, some members of which he had admired in the slave market at Rome and had lovingly called Angels instead of Angles. He even departed on the journey northward; but so great was his popularity among the Roman people that they compelled the reigning Pope to recall him. After his election to the papacy (590) Gregory sent the abbot *Augustine* and forty monks to England. These missionaries landed in 597 in the island of Thanet, the very place where the Saxons had first set foot on British soil. The island formed part of the kingdom of Kent, which was then ruled by King Ethelbert and Queen Bertha. It was perhaps through the influence of the queen, who was a Catholic, that the missionaries were received courteously and permitted to preach. The austere life of the monks and the imposing character of the Christian worship made a vivid impression on the imagination of the barbarians and effected numerous conversions. King Ethelbert himself adopted the new religion and was baptized on Pentecost Day, 597. On the following Christmas ten thousand of his subjects followed his example. Canterbury, the royal capital, became the centre of religious life in England, with St. Augustine as its first bishop.

88. Ecclesiastical Affairs among the Britons.—Owing to the large number of conversions new missionaries were needed, and these were sent by Pope Gregory from Rome. Augustine did not limit his activity to the needs of the Anglo-Saxons; he also made an attempt to restore the ancient discipline among the Britons. He had a meeting with some British bishops in Worcestershire and discussed with them,

especially, the celebration of Easter and the administration of baptism. The aim he had in view was their adoption of the Easter date and baptismal rite as they were observed in the Roman Church. His efforts were not crowned with success; the Britons refused to listen to his expostulations and entreaties. The question was, however, merely one of discipline; in belief the two churches were in complete accord, and uniformity in the date of celebrating Easter and on other points of discipline was to be secured at the Synod of Whitby in 664.

At this synod summoned by Oswy, King of Northumbria, representatives of the British and of the Anglo-Saxon churches discussed the religious differences separating the two nations. King Oswy suddenly cut short the debate by declaring his adhesion to the institutions and practises of St. Peter, *i. e.*, of the Church of Rome. "Are you both agreed," he asked, "that the keys of heaven were given by the Lord to Peter?" Both sides answered "Yes." "Then I will not decide against the doorkeeper," Oswy declared, "lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he who holds the key should not open to me." Shortly after the synod, in 669, the Greek monk Theodore was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. He completed the organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church by the appointment of bishops in the various kingdoms of the Heptarchy.

II. Ireland

89. Ireland and Her Inhabitants.—Among the various European countries Ireland enjoys the distinction of having been conquered neither by the Romans nor by the Germanic barbarians. The opening of her history was marked by a great struggle of tribes which took place about the beginning of the Christian Era, and of which we have but scanty and misleading information. The victors in the struggle appear afterward as the Milesians, but are better known as Scots

and Gaels. All three names were derived from members of the families of chiefs. The name Scots explains the noteworthy fact that down to the eleventh and even the thirteenth century Ireland was frequently called *Scotia* (Scotland). The transfer of this name to the country to which it is applied today was due to the rise and progress of a Scottish tribe which migrated in the beginning of the sixth century from the north of Ireland (Antrim) to western Scotland (Argyle).

The early inhabitants of Ireland were, before their conversion to Christianity, pagans, but not barbarians. They were ruled by five kings, one of whom was the *ardri* or high king and who resided at Tara in Meath. Under him four kings ruled the four provinces or states into which the island was divided. The power of the high king was, however, merely nominal at times. A strong central authority usually did not exist in the island. As a consequence the inhabitants enjoyed great freedom, but were also powerless against foreign attack.

90. The Conversion of Ireland; St. Patrick (c. 389–461). —Christianity probably made its appearance at an early date in Ireland. While no names of missionaries can be mentioned before the fifth century, some of the inhabitants must have known and practised the religion of Christ before that date owing to their frequent commercial intercourse with Britain and the continent. In fact the words in which Pope Celestine in 431 sent Ireland her first missionary, Palladius, prove the presence of Christians there; since Palladius, a native of Britain, was sent "to the Scots believing in Christ." His stay was short and his work inconsiderable. In his place the same Celestine sent the man who was destined to be known in history as the great apostle of the Irish, *St. Patrick*.

St. Patrick was born probably in 389 at Kilpatrick near Dumbarton in Scotland. He was about sixteen years old when he was captured by Irish marauders, carried off and

sold into slavery. For about six years he tended his master's flocks, but then effected his escape and went back to his own people. On his return, he, an earnest Christian, decided to devote himself to the service of God in the sacred ministry and is said to have heard in visions the plaintive cry of the pagan Irish inviting him to come amongst them. This voice he considered the voice of God. He went to France, where he received his missionary training in some of the most celebrated monasteries of the country. He then proceeded to Rome, where he was consecrated bishop.

Commissioned by Pope Celestine to preach the Gospel to the Irish, he arrived in the island in 432. He landed at Wicklow on the eastern coast, and in his missionary journeys, which carried him all over Ireland, usually preached to the important and influential men of the various localities and districts. At Easter of the year 433 a general assembly of the rulers, judges (Brehons) and priests (Druids) of the country was to be held at Tara under the presidency of the ardri or supreme monarch of Ireland. Patrick resolved to preach the Gospel before this august body, was successful in making numerous conversions and in obtaining permission to preach everywhere. It is on this solemn occasion that he is said to have plucked a shamrock from the sward and to have explained by its single stem and triple leaf the Unity of Nature and Trinity of Persons in God. The work thus auspiciously begun among the leaders of the nation, he continued successfully among the people. To assure permanency to the work he consecrated bishops and established schools for the education of the clergy. When he died, about 461, the whole nation was not yet Christian, but Christianity had supplanted paganism and the Church was well organized. In the early Middle Ages Ireland was destined to become the island of saints and scholars. She owed this distinction no doubt in a large measure to the fervent prayers, extraordinary mortification, invincible courage and boundless confidence in God which distinguished St. Patrick, her

great Apostle. In grateful recognition of his unparalleled services to their country the Irish have ever held his name in honor; they have always linked with it the name of St. Brigid, the foundress of the convent of Kildare and patroness of Ireland.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE FRANKS TO 800

I. The Frankish Kingdom Under the Merovingians

91. The Franks before Clovis.—The Frankish state became the most important of all the kingdoms which were established as a result of the migrations of the nations. It virtually included all the other Germanic peoples excepting the Anglo-Saxons and the Scandinavians, and its administrative system was reproduced in the other medieval states.

The Franks originally did not form one nation, but were divided into two groups: the *Salian Franks* and the *Ripuarian Franks*. The name of the former was probably derived from the River *Sala*, now the Yssel, one of the branches of the Lower Rhine. This group was established in the present country of Holland, but moved southward little by little until it reached the Somme, a river in northern France. The Ripuarian Franks derived their name from the Latin *Ripa* (bank), and had their home on both banks of the Rhine near the site of the present city of Cologne. Each of these two groups was subdivided into tribes, and each tribe had its leader. In 481 Clovis, who is recognized as the founder of Frankish power, was king of one of these tribal subdivisions of the Salian Franks. He gradually extended his sway over the other Frankish tribes and established the dynasty of the Merovingians, so called after his legendary ancestor, Meroveus.

92. Clovis defeats Syagrius (486) **and conquers the Alemanni; His Conversion** (496).—After the fall of the Western Empire, Syagrius, a Roman governor, had maintained himself at the head of an independent state in the north of Gaul. By conquering this opponent the Franks, under the leadership of Clovis, obliterated the last remnant of Roman

domination and were enabled gradually to extend their empire as far south as the Loire (486).

Ten years after his successful encounter with the Romans, Clovis took the field against the Germanic tribe of the Alemanni. The cause of this conflict is not known with certainty, but must perhaps be sought in the attempt of both nations to advance into the same territory of Gaul. They met in battle at Tolbiac, a place of doubtful geographical location, and, after a desperate struggle, the Alemanni suffered a crushing defeat. They lost all their possessions situated on the left bank of the Rhine, and even some of their territory on the right side of the river. The Franks became, by this new conquest, a most powerful nation; but more important in their history than the extension of territory was the famous conversion of their king, of which the war was the occasion. Clovis, hard pressed in the battle, appealed for help to the God of his Catholic wife *Clotilde*: "God of Clotilde," he prayed, "grant me this victory and I will believe in Thee and be baptized in Thy name."

After the successful termination of the war, he faithfully kept the promise made on the field of battle. He received instruction in the truths of the Christian religion and was baptized on Christmas day, 496, with three thousand of his warriors. He was the first Germanic king to accept permanently the *Catholic* faith. Some barbarian rulers and nations had indeed been converted before him to Christianity, but they had adopted it in its heretical, Arian form. As the civilized Latin world was mainly Catholic, considerable religious antagonism, which reacted also on political and social life, developed between the two races. No such antagonism existed between the Romans and the Franks, and the latter were more easily latinized in speech, customs and manners.

93. Clovis' Victory over the Visigoths (507).—The advance of the Franks southward as far as the Loire brought them in contact with the Visigoths who had established themselves

on the opposite bank of this river. As Clovis was determined to continue his conquests, war soon ensued between the two neighboring peoples. The Visigoths were defeated and lost almost all their territory in Gaul. They continued to maintain themselves in Spain, in spite of internal discord, until the Arabs, crossing over from Africa, attacked them and put an end to their kingdom (711).

94. Clovis made a Roman Patrician; His Character.—Shortly after his victory over the Visigoths, Clovis was honored by the Eastern emperor with the titles of *Patrician* and *Consul*. He proudly donned the insignia of his new dignities and thus appeared before his people. Not only did these honors gratify his personal vanity, they were also instrumental in reconciling the Roman element with the new situation. Although Clovis was a barbarian, they now looked upon him as a true Roman official.

Among his own Frankish people the king increased and consolidated his power by the destruction and assassination of his rivals. By this effective process of elimination he disposed of the rulers of various tribes and united them under his government. This unity was a rather loose and imperfect one, however, and although the king ruled with a strong hand, his power was not uniformly felt everywhere. As to the methods by which he achieved success and increased his dominions, they were evidently neither just nor Christian and deserve severe condemnation. In spite of his conversion to the Catholic faith, his morals remained, to a considerable extent, those of the heathen and barbarian. Egotism, ambition, and treachery particularly marred his conduct; any means was just as long as it helped him to attain his end. He died in 511.

95. The Frankish Empire under Clovis' Successors from 511 to 638.—The descendants of Clovis reigned until the year 751. Their history may be divided into two periods. During the first period, which ended with the death of King Dagobert in 638, the Merovingian kings ruled in name and

in fact. From 638 to 751 they were kings in name only; the real power was exercised by the mayors of the palace. This second period is known as the time of the Do-Nothing Kings.

Clovis was survived by four sons: Theoderic, Clodomir, Childebert and Clotaire. According to the Salian right of inheritance they divided the empire among themselves as though it were private property, while each retained for himself whatever he could acquire by new conquests.

The eldest son Theoderic undertook a war against the *Thuringians* and occupied a considerable part of their territory in 531. The following year the two younger brothers destroyed the power of the *Burgundians* and brought them under Frankish rule. About the same time the rest of the country of the *Alemanni* was conquered, and in 540 even the *Bavarians* were reduced to subjection.

The Frankish empire had thus attained to enormous proportions. Its principal parts were Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy. Austrasia or the eastern country comprised the northeastern territory, including present Belgium, parts of Germany, of Holland and of France; Neustria or the western country was situated to the west of Austrasia. Burgundy was formed by the territories of both banks of the Rhône. In point of race, considerable difference existed between Austrasia and Neustria. The former was at the time frequently called *Germanic Francia*, the latter *Roman Francia*.

96. The Frankish Empire under the Do-Nothing Kings (638–751).—During this period the kings only nominally ruled the Frankish state. The real power was exercised by the mayors of the palace, *i. e.*, the highest officials at court and in the kingdom. The mayors of the palace were destined to take the place of the kings on the throne at the end of the period. In Austrasia the office became hereditary; and beside the royal dynasty of the Merovingians existed the dynasty of the Heristals who were mayors of the palace.

The dominions of the Heristals were situated in Belgium. The first personage of the line whose name history records is Pippin of Landen, who ruled Austrasia in the first half of the seventh century. His grandson Pippin of Heristal (687–714), after a brilliant victory over the nobility of Neustria at Tertry (687), was mayor of the palace of the whole empire. *Charles Martel* (714–741), who succeeded him, had to ward off the attacks of the Frisians and to foil the intrigues of the Alemanni and Bavarians. But his greatest title to fame is his decisive victory over the Arabs at Tours in 732. On that memorable day he saved Christian civilization by pushing back the Mohammedan hordes.

97. Pippin the Short assumes the Royal Title and puts an End to the Merovingian Dynasty (751).—The son and successor of Charles Martel, Pippin the Short, so called because of his small stature, put an end to the nominal kingship of the Merovingians and deprived them of the royal title. He dispatched two messengers to Pope St. Zacharias to inquire whether the system of double rulers should be continued among the Franks. The Pope made answer: "It seemed to him better and more advantageous that he should be king and be called king who had the power rather than he who was falsely called king." On the receipt of this favorable message, Pippin summoned a general meeting of the Frankish nobility and people at Soissons. Here the powerless Childeric III was deposed, shorn of his regal locks, and sent into a monastery. Pippin was lifted on the shield, unanimously recognized as King of the Franks, and began a new (the Carolingian) dynasty (751). He had, as is apparent, for his assumption of power, the sanction of the Holy See and the choice of the nation. A special ceremony was to strengthen still further his power: St. Boniface, the apostle of the Germans and reformer of the Frankish Church, anointed the new monarch. The rite recalled the anointing of King Saul by the prophet Samuel and gave, as it were, a sacred character to the kingship.

II. The Frankish Empire under the Early Carolingians (751–800).

98. The Reign of Pippin the Short (751–768).—Pippin's relations with the Popes and the Lombards form the most important feature of the history of his reign and led to his two great expeditions to Italy. The Popes, abandoned by the Eastern emperors, had been forced to treat independently with the Lombard kings, who sought to conquer Rome. When in the year 752 no exarch or viceroy was appointed for Italy, they considered themselves as the successors of these officials. They organized and directed the defense against the Lombards when no protection was furnished by the emperors. When, after his conquest of the exarchate, King *Aistulf* advanced on Rome, Pope Stephen II, reckoned by some historians as Stephen III, fled to the Frankish court in search of help. He conferred on Pippin the title of *Patrician*, *i. e.*, protector of the city and territory of Rome, again anointed him king, and received from him definite and solemn assurances of assistance against the Lombards (754).

Before opening hostilities the King of the Franks addressed a summons to Aistulf demanding that he respect the rights of the Holy See. On Aistulf's refusal the Frankish army crossed the Alps and defeated the Lombards. Surrounded in Pavia the capital, their king was forced to sue for peace. It was concluded on Aistulf's promise that he would cede to Pippin Ravenna and twenty-one other towns with the territories belonging thereto. The Frankish king made donation of the conquest to the Pope. This was the nucleus of the states which became known later on as the States of the Church and which were suppressed permanently only in 1870. The Pope, who up to this time had exercised jurisdiction only over souls, now became also a temporal though not yet completely independent sovereign, having his possessions and subjects like other kings (754).

Aistulf did not keep the promises made in time of distress. On the contrary, considering himself out of danger after the withdrawal of the Frankish troops, he descended the valley of the Tiber and laid siege to Rome. Pippin again crossed the Alps, forced him to raise the siege and to hurry northward to defend his invaded dominions. The second campaign, like the first, was brief and successful for Pippin. He defeated Aistulf in northern Italy, surrounded him in Pavia, and imposed his own peace terms. These included the instant surrender of Ravenna and the above-mentioned towns and territories which were again turned over to the Pope (756).

These harmonious relations between the papacy and the talented, energetic and benevolent Pippin prepared the reign and work of Charlemagne and the friendly cooperation between the Holy See and the Carolingians.

99. The Accession of Charlemagne; His Dominions.—When Pippin died in 768 his dominions were divided between his two sons: Carloman and Charles. The former died three years later (771) and, although he had left sons to succeed him, Charles was acknowledged by the Franks as the sole ruler of the kingdom. He was the greatest king of the Middle Ages and ruled from 768 to 814. He continued in all directions the conquests of his predecessors. During the forty-six years of his reign some sixty military expeditions took place, half of which he commanded in person. He united under his prudent and efficient rule, wholly or in part, the countries now known as Spain, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary and Italy. His wars were waged in Italy, Spain, Germany and the territories occupied by the Slavs and Avars.

100. War in Italy (773–774).—The difficulties between the papacy and the Lombards did not come to an end with the reign of Pippin. Under Charlemagne, *Desiderius*, the new King of the Lombards (757–774), again threatened the possessions of the Holy See. Pope Adrian I (772–795) appealed

to the Franks for help. Charlemagne, imitating his father's example, crossed the Alps and promptly put an end to the kingdom of the Lombards by the conquest of their capital Pavia and the capture of their King Desiderius. The latter was shorn of his locks, sent into a monastery, and thus disappears from history. Charlemagne assumed the Iron Crown of Lombardy and the title of King of the Lombards (774). He subsequently made the conquest of the peninsula as far south as the Garigliano River and created the kingdom of Italy, over which he appointed one of his sons. He confirmed and increased the donation of territories which Pippin had made to the Holy See. But these Papal States, or Patrimony of St. Peter, as they were frequently called, were included in the kingdom of Italy and subject to its ruler. The Pope was not completely independent in governing them, but enjoyed in several respects the rights of temporal ruler of these territories.

101. War in Spain.—Charlemagne prosecuted against the Saracens in Spain the war which Pippin had begun against them in southern France. It lasted for some twenty years and ended with the conquest of a part of northern Spain. The conquered territory was organized as a frontier province under the name of *Spanish March*. The name *March* was to become usual for frontier districts especially created for the defense of the empire against foreign invaders. This province wrested from the Saracens was the nucleus of the future Christian kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon, and Charlemagne may rightly be considered as one of the founders of the Spanish monarchy.

On the return from his first expedition, Charlemagne's rearguard, commanded by Roland, Count of Brittany, was attacked and wiped out by the Basques in the famous defile of Roncesvalles. This unimportant incident formed later the subject of the famous *Song of Roland*, the great national epic of the Franks.

102. Wars against the Saxons (772–804).—The Saxons

who played such an important part in the history of Charlemagne inhabited that part of present Germany and the Netherlands which extends approximately from the Lower Rhine to the Elbe. They were the only German tribe which still worshipped pagan gods and offered human sacrifices. They fought with the greatest courage for their independence and their false religion, but the lack of strong political organization among them and their division into several groups weakened their power of resistance. Charlemagne waged war against them to put an end to their inroads into Frankish territory and to effect their conversion to the Christian religion. More than thirty years (772–804) were necessary to subdue permanently this stubborn enemy, who was favored by the lay of the land, the difficulty of communication, and the fact that repeatedly the Frankish king was simultaneously engaged in other wars. The hero of Saxon independence, and for a considerable time the soul of the resistance to the Franks, was *Widukind*, who, forced repeatedly to submission, ever again took up arms against the invader.

The war bore a character of unusual fierceness on both sides. The Saxons massacred the Frankish troops in isolated stations, also the missionaries and merchants who ventured into their territory. Charlemagne, in the hope that the severest punitive measures would reduce them and effect their submission, ordered in 782 the massacre of 4,500 defenseless Saxon prisoners. This action, far from realizing his expectations, caused a general uprising of the Saxon nation. But, in spite of setbacks such as this, the tenacity of the powerful Frankish king was to triumph eventually. Widukind made his final submission and accepted baptism in 785. After that date, war operations on a large scale ceased, although the country was not yet permanently conquered. A new outbreak occurred in 793, but it only extended over the northern districts. Charlemagne now had recourse to the system of plantations; numerous Saxons

were deported into other parts of his dominions and Franks settled on their confiscated land. No less than ten thousand families were forcibly removed from northern Saxony and part of their land given to a Slavic tribe friendly to the Franks.

With the submission of the Saxons to the Franks went hand in hand their acceptance of the Christian religion. The loss of their independence meant also the destruction of heathenism among them. Saxony became at the same time Frankish and Christian. Towns, so far non-existent, now sprang up in the country and increased its material prosperity, while newly erected dioceses promoted its spiritual welfare.

103. Wars against the Avars and the Slavs; the Beginnings of Austria.—On the eastern frontier of Germany, Charlemagne came into contact with new barbarians against whom he had to defend his dominions. These peoples were the *Avars* and the *Slavs*. The Slavs had settled in the territory east of the Elbe. Charlemagne waged war against them and forced them to pay tribute. The Avars, who as regards origin and manner of life were related to the Huns, occupied at the time the plain of Hungary. The King of the Franks, in order to put an end to repeated incursions into his dominions, attacked and defeated them. For greater security from unexpected attack he organized several marches on the eastern frontier. Among these the most famous was the *March of the East*, which grew gradually into the independent state of Austria.

104. The Restoration of the Empire in the West; Charlemagne is crowned Emperor by Pope Leo III (800).—In 795 Pope Adrian I died and was succeeded by Pope Leo III (795–816). However, some of Adrian's relatives and former supporters refused to acknowledge Leo and took him prisoner. In order to obtain his deposition they dispatched messengers to Charlemagne and accused the Pope of various crimes. Leo succeeded in making his escape and proceeded to the

court of the Frankish king (799). Charles, engaged in war with the Saxons, could not then undertake a journey to Rome, but he visited the city of the Popes in the following year to restore peace between Leo and his enemies. An assembly of ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries, held in St. Peter's Church, entertained too great a respect for the Apostolic See to sit in judgment over its occupant. As a consequence Pope Leo proved by a solemn and public oath his innocence of the utterly false accusations placed against him. A few days later there was celebrated the famous Christmas Day of the year 800, which was destined to become so momentous in the annals of the Christian Church and the restored Empire. During the Mass which Charlemagne attended on that day in St. Peter's Church, Pope Leo III placed a precious crown on his head and proclaimed him Emperor of the West. While this was being enacted the Roman populace cried aloud: "Long life and victory to the mighty Charles, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans, crowned of God."

105. Meaning of this Coronation; Papacy and Empire.— The old Roman empire was thus restored in the west; the coronation was not considered as an innovation, but as a renewal and continuation of the old Roman imperial dignity. The bestowal of this new title on Charlemagne did not bring with it any increase in territory, it conferred no material advantages, but added enormously to the moral authority and prestige of the King of the Franks. It expressed the division of the supreme authority among Christians between two powers: the spiritual power exercised by the Pope and governing the Church, and the civil power exercised by the emperor and governing the state. The two authorities, the civil and the spiritual, were to be intimately united and to work harmoniously together. The secular power received, through the coronation, a higher moral recognition and a sacred character; the spiritual, effective help and strong protection in the fulfillment of its mission. The sacred

character of the imperial dignity was expressed in the very title, *Holy* Roman Empire. The bearer of this title assumed the performance of very important duties and enjoyed very considerable rights. He was bound to protect the whole Christian Church, particularly the Pope and the See of Rome, and to promote the spread of Christianity among the barbarian nations. On the other hand, he enjoyed extensive privileges and supreme civil authority over all western princes. It must be added, however, that, in practise, this universal civil authority could not be exercised and that Charlemagne's successors were, generally speaking, rulers of Germany, overlords of Italy, and emperors only in theory.

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CHAPTER IX

ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE FRANKISH STATE

I. Organization of the Government

106. Character of the Kingship.—The royal authority among the Franks was *absolute* and *hereditary*. It was absolute in the first place, for the royal power was limited neither by the vote of a popular assembly nor by the influence wielded by a more or less independent nobility. The ancient popular assemblies, in which the Franks met and framed laws or decided for war, had degenerated into mere reviews of arms and warriors. An aristocracy composed of great landed proprietors was in existence, but it enjoyed no political privileges and was, like the people, completely subject to the royal authority.

The kingship was also hereditary. Such was not the case originally among the Germans, nor even among the Franks. Before the latter settled in Gaul their kings had to submit to election. But from the time of Clovis the royal dignity did not pass from the family of the Merovingians until they were supplanted by the Carolingians, who continued to hand it down from father to son. Two ceremonies recalled the former electoral system: the lifting of the new king on the shield and the oath of fidelity sworn by noblemen, warriors, and people.

107. Royal Power and Residence.—The duty imposed on the king was twofold: defense of the state against foreign aggression and maintenance of law and order. For the performance of the first-mentioned duty he enjoyed the right to decide for peace or war and was in supreme command of the army. For the fulfilment of the latter his authority was not only of a legislative nature, but included also the judicial and coercive power, *i. e.*, the right to judge, and punish the guilty. In the exercise of his authority as

lawgiver, Charlemagne frequently consulted the diet, an assembly of bishops and noblemen which represented the interests of both state and Church. The enactments of the diet were, owing to their division into chapters (in Latin "capita"), designated as *capitularies*.

The kings had no fixed capital. To the Roman palaces which were at their disposal in certain cities, they preferred extensive villas, which, usually situated near forests, offered excellent opportunities for the chase. They proceeded successively from one royal domain to another, consuming the produce of the property on which they happened to be located. The income and maintenance of the court was derived, not from the state as in our modern system, but mainly from the very extensive estates owned by the Crown.

108. Administrative Divisions.—In the administration of the Frankish kingdom we may distinguish: (1) The *Central Government*, and (2) the *Provincial Divisions*.

The central government or palace was nothing else but the royal court. All matters of state were attended to at the palace: appointment and supervision of governors or counts, framing and enactment of laws, organization of the army, imposition of taxes. Although primarily appointed for service at the court, the officials surrounding the king exercised, owing to the personal character of the government, a very considerable influence on state affairs. At their head was the *mayor of the palace*, who eventually became a sort of prime minister more powerful than the king himself. Pippin the Short suppressed the office after his accession to the throne.

The kingdom was divided in some sections into *duchies* or provinces, and throughout, into *counties*, which constituted the real administrative units of the country. At the head of the county was an official appointed by the king who, deriving his title from the name of the district, was known as count. On him devolved not only the task of ruling the county, but also the administration of justice,

the levying of taxes and the command of troops. It is clear from these attributions of the count that the administration of justice and the exercise of the executive power were in the same hands. Such was the organization in all medieval states; the separation of the two powers as it is in force everywhere today was unknown at that time. Owing to the whims of the rulers and unmanageable temper of the people, constant changes took place in the personnel of the royal officials governing the country. If, in spite of this uncertainty of tenure, a certain unity prevailed in the administration, it was due to the fact that the sons of the nobility were sent at an early date to the royal court, where they received a uniform training fitting them for administrative affairs.

To the above territorial divisions Charlemagne added the *Marches*. They were formed of conquered territory situated beyond the original boundary of the kingdom. The people settled in the Marches were to be prepared at all times to repel a hostile attack. Charles also instituted a new set of officials known as royal envoys or inspectors, "Missi dominici." These were appointed annually by the king, and were charged with the visitation of various districts and the supervision of the government of the counts. Generally two were assigned to each district, one of whom was a bishop, the other a nobleman; they reported their observations to the king and contributed, in a large measure, to the better administration of the state. The institution disappeared, at least for a time, shortly after Charlemagne's death.

109. Revenues of the Royal Treasury.—Owing to the dependence of man on natural products, payment in kind usually precedes the system in which the divers exchanges are based on the monetary system. Where payment is made in kind, the needs of a farm or other establishment are met by the products raised on it. As for the state, it demands of its subjects especially personal service and farm products, and rewards its officials for their services by grants of land

and estates. This primitive condition of things was still prevalent among the Franks during the period under consideration. The principal revenues of the royal treasury were derived from: (1) *Customs duties;* (2) *The land tax;* (3) *Fines;* (4) *The Crown domains.*

The Frankish kings continued to levy the taxes which had been introduced and collected by the Roman government. Among these was the customs duty, which had to be paid not only on goods at their entrance into the kingdom, but also on merchandise shipped from one inland point to another. The revenues derived from the customs, while not very high, were nevertheless appreciable, as considerable merchandise was carried on the rivers and over the still serviceable Roman roads.

Another tax levied at least at the beginning of the Merovingian period was the land tax. It was not only imposed on all estates of the former Roman inhabitants, but had to be paid also by the Frankish landowners. The estates of the Church, however, were exempt; many Franks soon secured the same privilege, which was eventually extended also to some Romans. Owing to abuses and mismanagement this impost was allowed to lapse by the later Merovingian kings. In connection with the land tax ought to be mentioned the right enjoyed by king and royal officials to demand hospitality of the people whose territory they traversed. This right soon led to numerous abuses. Generous hospitality offered the king by count or monastery was soon followed by an increasing number of visits. As the kings were usually accompanied by numerous retainers, the expenses incurred by the host were very considerable, and the right to hospitality enjoyed by royalty and its representatives was soon felt as another heavy burden imposed on the people.

The fines imposed in the administration of justice were likewise an important source of revenue. In the very prevalent settlement known as *composition*, in which the culprit agreed to pay a compensation for the injury he had inflicted

or the damage he had done; one-third of the indemnity (*wergeld*) was due to the king who, however, shared it with the local count.

The most abundant source of income for the kingship was its own domains. The Merovingian kings inherited all the Roman imperial estates, and although they granted parts of these to their soldiers or to the Church, the royal domains were nevertheless extensive and numerous. The provisions derived from them were alone sufficient for the maintenance of the royal family and court. Apart from this maintenance, the expenses of the state were insignificant and were usually occasioned chiefly by the customary distribution of presents.

110. The Army.—The Franks extended to the Romans the liability to military service and thus made it universal for all freemen. It was part of the task of the royal envoys (*Missi dominici*) to report the number of men subject to military service. The citizens were called to arms, however, only in time of war, and the king alone could issue the summons. A prompt response to the call was exacted: the soldier was required to leave on the evening of the same day if the order was issued in the morning; he was obliged to report the following morning if the call was delivered in the evening. Whosoever did not respond to the summons was sentenced to pay a heavy fine. The soldier was neither equipped nor armed by the state, but had to bear his own war expenses, and every freeman owning twelve farms served as a cavalryman. The soldier was even constrained to provide his own food, and hence lived usually on the country in which he waged war. This condition brought in its train incalculable disorder. The armies pillaged impartially friend and foe. They ravaged, burned, and massacred often less through military necessity than through sheer force of habit. Such warfare might indeed turn out very profitably for the combatants, but it was ruinous for the districts where the fighting occurred.

111. The Administration of Justice.—Justice was adminis-

tered either by the king, the count, or the lord. The king had jurisdiction over the whole kingdom and sat in judgment in his palace and not in any public building. He was usually assisted, at the trial, by some ecclesiastics or noblemen of the court. The count was the chief justice of his district. Contrary to the royal practise he did not hold court in his residence, but at the *Mall, i. e.*, a place open to the public. He was generally attended by some notables of the locality in which the trial was held. Beside the king and count, who exercised judicial authority in the name of the state, the lord enjoyed the privilege of administering justice on his own domain.

The sentences were based on written proofs and on the depositions of witnesses. Frequently, however, recourse was had to the *judgment of God* as expressed in the ordeals. In these practises the accused submitted to various tests such as touching with the bare hand, or walking barefoot on, a red hot iron, plunging his hands into boiling water, submitting to single combat, or swearing an oath on the Cross or the Blessed Eucharist. If he escaped such an ordeal unscathed, God was supposed to have pronounced judgment in his favor and he was declared innocent. These usages were based on former pagan superstitions, but they were tolerated by the Church. Recourse to them was encouraged implicitly and by example since the priests blessed the objects used on such occasions and at times had recourse themselves to the judgment of God. The ordeals fell into disuse only after Innocent III (1198–1216) condemned them and denounced them as a rash tempting of God.

112. Penalties; Laws in Use.—Severe penalties were usually imposed on delinquents. Capital punishment was inflicted not only for homicide, treason and desertion, but also for theft committed in a church or repeated three times. Nevertheless, the old Germanic usage of *composition* or *wergeld* modified the severity of the law by permitting frequently the payment of an indemnity. In spite of this

mitigation the death penalty was inflicted very frequently, for it is mentioned among the especially meritorious works of St. Eligius that, with the king's permission, he sent his servants through towns and villages to take down the bodies of malefactors from the gibbets and give them decent burial.

Originally the various Germanic tribes had each its own laws and customs, and these remained in vigor after the barbarians settled in the Roman empire. A Frank continued to be judged according to Frankish law, a Burgundian according to Burgundian law. Wherever he went a German took his law with him, *i. e.*, an Alemannus or Visigoth sojourning in Frankland was, in case of trial, still subject to his own national, and not to Frankish, law. A Roman, on the other hand, was bound by the Roman code. In other words, the law was *tribal* or *personal* and not *territorial*. This system was still in vigor under Charlemagne who, after his coronation, collected and reduced to writing the unwritten customs and laws of the peoples subject to him.

II. Distribution of Land; Classes of Persons; Culture and Education

113. Distribution of Land.—Under the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties, the country was divided into large landed estates. Extensive domains were situated all over the kingdom and were owned by the Crown, the Church, and the nobility. Most of the land was thus owned, although small, independent properties also existed here and there. Owing to the extent of his estates, the large landowner could not possibly till them himself and depended on the labor of others, which he secured by the following arrangement. He divided his domain into two parts. One of these he reserved for himself and called it the part of the lord or, in Latin, "dominicum." It included the principal mansion surrounded by gardens, parks, meadows, fields, vineyards and forests. The remainder of the estate he divided up into

lots which he rented out to tenants. A small cottage built on every such lot served as dwelling to the tenant who, by working the fields, vineyards, and meadows rented to him, provided for his own and his family's needs. The tenure was *permanent* in the sense that the same serf or "colonus" cultivated the same property all his life. Frequently the tenure was even hereditary, so that the same family held the same lot for generations.

Certain obligations were of course imposed on the tenant. They may be summed up in the two following points: (1) The payment of specified dues; (2) the rendering of personal services. The dues were paid in kind, the lord being entitled to a part of the tenant's crops. The personal services consisted in a few days' work per week on that part of the estate which the lord had reserved to himself and which he was thus enabled to cultivate.

114. Classes of Persons.—The conditions under which the land was held help to give an understanding of the existing social distinctions. Three classes of persons must be distinguished: (1) The great *landowners* who formed a landed aristocracy. Most of them lived at the royal court, bound themselves by a special oath of fidelity to the king, and received in return high dignities such as the appointment to a county or a bishopric. (2) *The peasants.* They were freemen owning a small property which they had either inherited or acquired in some other way. (3) The men living on the lord's estate, who were either *colons*, *serfs* or *slaves*. Slavery undoubtedly continued in existence during the period, but the number of slaves constantly decreased, most of them rising to the higher condition of the serf. The serf, far from being completely at the mercy of a heartless master, had a small plot of ground which he tilled for himself, and a little dwelling in which he lived surrounded by his family. He paid indeed certain dues, and had to work a certain number of days for his master; but this will be found natural enough if it be remembered that the latter had granted him his

land. Even the fact that he was attached to the soil had its good side, for while he could not leave, neither could he be dismissed by the lord. The difference between "colonus" and serf was more one of origin than of actual condition. The colonus was a freeman who had fallen almost completely from his primitive condition of liberty, whereas the serf had risen from the abject position of the slave. During the Middle Ages both eventually formed the class of serfs attached to the soil.

115. Culture under the Merovingians.—The Merovingian period was for Gaul and all the lands occupied by the Franks a time of the densest ignorance. Such a state of things was the natural result of historical conditions, since the Roman culture had been destroyed and the barbarian conquerors had none of their own to put in its place. As churchmen were the principal, if not the only, representatives of learning at the time, Latin, the language of the Church, was also the means of learned intercourse. The best known writer of the Merovingian period was *Gregory*, Bishop of Tours (538–593), whose *History of the Franks* forms the chief source of information for the history of the sixth century.

116. Education and Art under Charlemagne.—Most important in the history of the civilization of the period was the reign of Charlemagne. The great emperor desired that a school be attached to each monastery and cathedral. While such schools were in existence before his time, they now increased in number and were more fully organized. Charles thus laid the foundation of the whole medieval school system. Instruction was imparted in Latin in these institutions and included the seven liberal arts, an inheritance of ancient times. The studies were divided into the *Trivium*, which had a linguistic basis and comprised grammar, dialectics and rhetoric, and the *Quadrivium*, which had a mathematical foundation and comprised arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. The final purpose of all instruction was the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures.

The model school was that of Tours, which was under the direction of the great *Alcuin*. Alcuin, an Englishman, was, like several other learned men, invited by Charlemagne to his court. He became the king's chief adviser in his educational reforms and was, so to speak, his minister of public instruction. With him were to be met at the royal court, the Lombard, Paul the Deacon, who has left a history of his own nation, and the Frank, Eginhard or Einhard, who wrote a valuable life of Charlemagne.

The revival of studies was accompanied by a revival of art. Churches and palaces were built on the models of monuments at Ravenna and Rome. Columns were even brought from Italy for their ornamentation. The most famous church of Charlemagne's time, still in existence today, is that of St. Mary's at Aix-la-Chapelle. This city was his favorite residence and contained also one of his most beautiful palaces.

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CHAPTER X

MOHAMMED AND MOHAMMEDANISM

I. Mohammed and His Religion

117. The Arabs at the Coming of Mohammed.—At the beginning of the seventh century, Asia, that continent which may be styled the mother of religions, since it has given birth to all the great religious systems, witnessed the rise and progress of a new cult, Islam. The name Islam means submission, obedience, which is one of the characteristic practises of this new religion. From its founder, Mohammed, was derived the designation Mohammedanism which is also applied to it.

This new religious system profoundly modified the history of the world and of civilization. It spread notably in Asia, Africa, and Europe, and still boasts numerous adherents on these three continents. It was the primary cause of the greatest and longest wars of the Middle Ages, the Crusades. It still continues to gain adherents in Africa and Asia, and numbers today no less than 200 million members.

Islam was first preached among the Arabs who, like the Hebrews, belong to the Semitic branch of the white race. They are descended, according to their own claim, from Ismael, son of Abraham and Agar. Prior to the appearance of Mohammed among them, they did not form one united people, but were divided into numerous independent tribes, some of which had settled permanently in different localities, while others were still nomads. They were pagans or worshipped idols. Their common shrine, the *Kaaba* at Mecca, in which a sacred stone, probably a meteor, was held in high honor, was the object of an annual pilgrimage on the part of all "faithful" Arabs. In this sacred edifice the idols peculiar to each tribe, to the number of three hundred and sixty, were also the subject of special veneration.

Paganism was, however, not the only religion of Arabia. Judaism also had its followers and Christianity was likewise represented. The presence of these believers in one God and the acquaintance with their doctrine prepared the way for the destruction of idols, which Mohammed successfully accomplished.

118. Life of Mohammed (about 570-632); **The Hegira** (622).—Mohammed was born at Mecca about 570. His father did not live to see the son's birth, and his mother died while he was still a child. Mohammed was then cared for by his grandfather and, after the latter's death, by his oldest paternal uncle. He was kindly treated, but shared the hardships of a very poor family; he herded sheep, and gathered wild berries in the desert. Little else is known of his youth.

He was probably in his twenty-fifth year when he entered the house and business of a wealthy widow named Khadija. For her he went on commercial journeys, thus becoming acquainted with part of Palestine and Syria. Later he married the widow, who was much his senior. The marriage was happy and blessed with several children. The two sons, however, died young. His marriage enabled Mohammed to abandon mercantile pursuits and to turn his energies to a different line of action, to reflection and prayer. Every year he retired for about thirty days during the month of Ramadan to a cavern near Mecca, where he devoted his time to fasting and communing with God. He claimed to have had, at about the age of forty, a vision supposedly of the archangel Gabriel. Swoons, visions, and so-called revelations are characteristic features of the remaining period of his life. He appears to have passed through many doubts and much distress before he became imbued with the idea that he was the *Prophet of God*.

He preached his doctrine first to the inhabitants of Mecca, who, however, with the exception of his wife and some of his relatives, refused to accept his teaching. They were attached to their national deities and probably feared,

through a change of religion, the cessation of the pilgrimages to the city, which were a source of income to them. So strong was the opposition to Mohammed that he was finally compelled to leave Mecca and fled to *Medina*. This event is known as the *Hegira* or Flight. It took place in 622 and marks the beginning of the *Mohammedan era*.

Mohammed's preaching was attended with better results at Medina; he made converts much more rapidly and with less difficulty. A considerable sprinkling of Jews, by spreading their belief in a coming prophet, had prepared the inhabitants for the reception and recognition of Mohammed. The number of followers whom he won over at Medina enabled him by force of arms to impose his teaching on some Arabian tribes. In 630 he was strong enough to capture Mecca and to bring it under his religious control. After destroying the idols which peopled the Kaaba he made it the centre of Mohammedan worship. Carrying his religion, sword in hand, from tribe to tribe, he had subjugated almost all Arabia when he died in 632 without leaving any male issue.

119. Mohammed's Character.—It is disputed whether Mohammed was epileptic; it is certain that he had a tendency to see visions and that he suffered from fits which threw him for a time into a swoon. He was always wandering on the borderland between illusion and reality. "His first revelations," as has been said, "were the almost natural outcome of his mode of life and habit of thought, and especially of his physical constitution." Down to the year 622 a sincere zeal is noticeable in his attempt to purify the national worship of Arabia. He commends tolerance and charity and appears as an apostle of penance. But after his discouraging experience at Mecca, he plans to establish by violence the kingdom of God and preaches a holy war. His ambition grows with his resources, and he forces his teaching on the Arabs.

His success was due not only to the sword, however, but

also to his masterful eloquence. Moreover, his system was an improvement on the hitherto existing conditions in Arabia. He introduced a milder treatment of slaves, forbade the taking of bloody revenge and introduced limitations in the practise of polygamy, if not for himself, at least for his followers. In spite of these advantages, due no doubt to Jewish and Christian influences, it is certain that Mohammed was not a divine prophet, as he claimed to be, but an impostor, at least during the latter part of his life. While at the beginning he may have believed in a mission which he had not received, his later revelations came at such suspiciously opportune times and brought such manifest advantage to his own personal interests that they cannot be accepted as genuine.

120. Mohammed's Religion.—Mohammed's doctrine was committed to writing on loose palm-leaves and dry bones either by himself or, more probably, by some of his followers. These objects were collected after his death and the inscriptions published in one book. This book is known as the *Koran* and forms, as it were, the Bible of the Mohammedans. A second book containing the unwritten sayings of the prophet, and consequently based on tradition, was compiled about a century after his death. It is called the *Sunnat* (custom), but it is not received by all Mohammedans.

The three fundamental doctrines of Islam are: (1) Belief in one invisible God; (2) recognition of Mohammed as God's prophet; (3) belief in an everlasting but grossly sensual life after death. The followers of the prophet must not only accept this teaching, they are also bound to live up to the following five great commandments: (1) External purifications and ablutions prescribed for certain occasions; (2) the recitation of prayers five times a day, the face turned toward Mecca; (3) a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once during one's lifetime; (4) almsgiving; (5) fasting during the whole month of Ramadan from dawn until sunset.

Mohammed considered and declared especially meritorious

the spread of his religion by force of arms. His teaching of an unalterable fate or destiny, to which each individual is subject, impressed *fatalism* on Islam as one of its characteristic traits.

II. Mohammedan Conquests and Civilization

121. Mohammedan Conquests in Asia and Africa.—Mohammed was preparing an attack on Syria and the Greeks when he died. His successors, called Califs, who were invested with the highest civil and ecclesiastical dignity and authority, continued his work. They looked upon the spread of Islam with the sword as their chief task, and consequently, immediately after the prophet's death, they began the *Holy War*. Toward the east they rapidly conquered Persia and advanced as far as India; to the north and west they attacked the Eastern Empire and subjugated Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. Continuing their advance westward they overran all North Africa, where Arabic has since remained the language of the inhabitants. In less than fifty years after Mohammed's death they had reached the Atlantic (681).

122. Mohammedan Advance into Europe.—At the beginning of the eighth century the Arabs attacked Europe. They crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and invaded Spain in 711. The decisive victory of *Xeres de la Frontera*, which they won in the same year, delivered up to them this Christian country, which they were to hold for almost 800 years. In 719 they penetrated into France, ravaged the valley of the Rhône as far as Lyons, and occupied Aquitaine. They pushed their conquests northward until they were thrown back by the Franks who, in 732, under the leadership of *Charles Martel*, defeated them in a great battle in the plain between Tours and Poitiers.

It can be readily understood that this battle is one of the most important in history when it is realized that in it

the fate of the Christian religion and civilization was at stake. The hosts of Charles Martel effectually arrested the progress of the Mohammedans and saved Europe from Islamism. So effectually indeed did they perform their task that, when in the later Middle Ages this deadly blight to religion and civilization again raised its head in Europe, it was not the Semitic-Arabian opponents of Charles Martel but the Mongol Turks from an entirely different quarter who were its aggressive and most powerful representatives.

123. Causes of the Rapid Spread of Islamism.—Few world empires were founded with the same lightning-like rapidity as the Arabic. The following reasons may be assigned for this extraordinary success: (1) The lack of provisions and even of the necessaries of life among the needy Arabs, who consequently had nothing to lose and everything to gain through a life of adventure and conquest. (2) The good pay received in the army, among which a large part of the booty was also distributed. (3) The patriotic sentiment of the Arabs, which was much more ardent than that of their Greek or Persian adversaries. (4) The numerous wars which divided and weakened the Greeks and Persians. (5) The intense and interminable religious disputes which, exerting their disastrous influence also on the political and national life, had divided the Eastern Empire and undermined its power of resistance. (6) The fact that the Eastern Emperors for some time did not realize the gravity of the threatening danger and took serious measures of defense only when it was already too late to prevent the permanent loss of most flourishing provinces.

124. Causes of the Political Disruption of the Mohammedan Dominions.—The swiftness with which the Arabs made their conquests was indeed astounding; but it included a great element of danger to the permanency of this vast empire. Extending from India to the Atlantic Ocean, the newly acquired dominions were too vast and comprised too many different races to remain long peacefully united

under one and the same ruler. Mecca was the civil and religious capital of the Mohammedan world for a short time only. It always retained, indeed, its importance as a religious centre, but was replaced as the political capital first by Damascus, then by Bagdad. These frequent transfers of the seat of government point to a state of political unrest. The weakness of the Mohammedan world was still more strikingly revealed in its breaking up into three separate states or califates: that of Bagdad in Asia, that of Cordova in Spain, and that of Cairo in Egypt.

125. Arab Civilization; The Sciences.—In the countries which they conquered, the Arabs became acquainted with Hellenistic culture and civilization: their scientific productions are as a result dependent to some extent on Greek models. While the West imitated Greece more in its oratorical and literary excellence, the Arabs devoted particular attention to the mathematical and physical sciences. Their principal source was Aristotle; but they also consulted extensively the astronomer Ptolemy. They may be considered the founders of the physical sciences, since they were the first to use the method of experimentation. They studied mathematics, geometry, astronomy, developed algebra, and brought from India the figures which we still designate as the Arabic. They raised medicine to the dignity of a science; and so universally acknowledged was their superiority in medical knowledge that as late as the seventeenth century the works of the Arab Avicenna (980–1036) were studied in the universities of Europe. By their conquests and scientific journeys they also extended geographical knowledge. In chemistry they contributed but little to the advancement of science, because in their experiments they sought the realization of two impossible aims. They endeavored to find the secret of changing all metals into gold and to discover the fabled elixir which would ensure long life and perennial youth to its possessor.

126. Arab Letters and Art.—Till the time of Mohammed

INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE, NOW CATHEDRAL, CORDOVA

the Arabs knew neither epic poetry nor the drama. They evinced, however, an extraordinary fondness for *fable*, as the compilation of the "Arabian Nights" proves. The greatest epic poet of Islam is the Persian *Ferdusi* (about 1000) who, in his "Book of Kings," sings the feats and exploits of the Persians.

The Koran forbade the representation of God or man through pictures and statues: a prohibition which affected in a most unfavorable manner the development of painting and sculpture among the Arabs. More notable was their success in architecture; but even here a development of a distinct Arab architecture is lacking, as they confined themselves to the reproduction of Greek and Persian models. Their monuments have neither the imposing grandeur of Roman art nor the charming simplicity of Greek masterpieces. Their merit and characteristic feature lies in a tasteful use of interlaced lines and convoluted curves: a system of fanciful, charming, and playful ornamentations to which the world has given the name of *arabesques*. The architectural skill of the Arabs found expression more particularly in the construction of mosques and palaces. The most celebrated among the former was the mosque, now the *cathedral, of Cordova*, with its 19 aisles and more than 900 columns. Among the palaces the most celebrated was the *Alhambra* in Granada, which was built in the fourteenth century and is now the most beautiful ruin in the world. In it the art of Islam reached its highest perfection.

127. Industry and Commerce.—Industry and commerce also flourished among the Arabs soon after the establishment of their world-empire. They excelled especially in the working of metals (Damascus steel), the weaving of silk fabrics (damask), and the preparation of leather (morocco). They learned from the Chinese the manufacture of paper. In industry, as in the sciences, they were the teachers of the Christians; and, in commerce, they were the first people of the Middle Ages. On their com-

mercial journeys they penetrated as far east as China. They spread the cultivation of the mulberry-tree and introduced rice, the sugar-cane, cotton, and spices in Europe. Their importance as a commercial people is demonstrated even by the words borrowed from the Arabic for stuffs (damask, muslin), for household articles (baldachin, mattress), for articles of consumption (coffee, alcohol, syrup, sugar), for commercial and naval affairs (tariff, magazine, admiral, arsenal).

It is important to note, however, that Arab conquest and civilization were not solely the work of Arabs, but must in part be credited to the newly converted or newly conquered peoples. Many so-called Arab scholars, architects or merchants were, in fact, Persians, Syrians, Greeks or Spaniards. The historic importance of the Arab empire lies in the fact that it united peoples of different race and character, brought together and combined conflicting civilizations and was the intermediary, the active agent, in the fusion, as it were, of western Europe and the Asiatic world.

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CHRIST GIVING THE KEYS TO ST. PETER (*Raphael*)

CHAPTER XI

THE CHURCH FROM 476 TO 800

I. The Papacy

128. The Spiritual Power of the Popes.—A twofold power was exercised by the Popes in the course of time: the spiritual and the temporal. This twofold authority must be carefully distinguished because it differed in origin, character and duration. The spiritual power vested in the Popes is *divine* in its origin, *supernatural* in its character, and *permanent* in its duration. Their temporal power is, on the contrary, *human* in its origin, *natural* in character, and, as a matter of fact, has been *temporary* and *interrupted* in duration.

The spiritual power was conferred by Jesus Christ himself on St. Peter and the Popes, his successors, by the words:

"Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven."[1]

Our Lord thus made Peter the supreme head and ruler of His Church, the Prince or highest of the Apostles. Peter, after founding the Church of Rome, handed down the highest authority or primacy to his successors in the same see. For this reason Catholics from the outset looked upon the Bishop of Rome as the first among all bishops, as the supreme ruler of all Christians. He was appealed to by other churches in doubts and difficulties, and his decisions were looked upon as final in all matters of doctrinal controversy. It is true that during the period of persecutions, papal authority could not be exercised freely and openly, but it nevertheless existed and was destined to shine forth in all its splendor with the triumph of Christianity over persecution and Roman absolutism in 313.

[1] Matth. xvi, 18–19.

129. The Temporal Power of the Popes.—The authority of the Popes did not remain confined to spiritual things. Their prestige in worldly affairs increased steadily and to their dignity of spiritual rulers was added that of temporal sovereigns. This additional power grew to a large extent out of the circumstances of the time, which are briefly indicated in the following enumeration. (1) The reception by the Popes, through the generosity and piety of the faithful, of large donations of land in all parts of Italy. (2) The transfer of the imperial residence to Constantinople, which left them the sole great dignitaries in Rome. (3) The leading part which they played in calming the fears and relieving the distress of the inhabitants of Italy during the calamities which befell the peninsula in the fifth and subsequent centuries. (4) Their defense of Rome against the Lombards. (5) The donations of Pippin and Charlemagne, which increased the Popes' possessions and sanctioned their political power. (6) The eminent qualities and conspicuous services to mankind of some of the Popes such as Leo I, the Great, and Gregory the Great. Owing to these circumstances, the people of Italy gradually became accustomed to look upon the Popes as the leaders in all Roman and Italian affairs.

130. St. Gregory I, the Great (590–604).—The founder of the medieval power of the papacy was Gregory I, the Great, whose reign ranks among the most important in the annals of the Church. He was born in Rome and was descended from a rich and noble family. After filling a high position in the service of the state, he renounced the world, sold his inheritance, distributed part of the proceeds among the poor and devoted the rest to the foundation of seven monasteries, six in Sicily and one at Rome in his own palace. He became a monk in the latter monastery and observed the rule with such exactness that he ruined his health. So universal was his popularity in Rome that he was later unanimously elected to the papacy by senate, clergy, and people. During his

pontificate he zealously furthered the conversion of the Lombards from paganism and of the Visigoths from heresy, sent missionaries to the Anglo-Saxons, succeeded in uplifting the ecclesiastical state and in relieving much of the existing misery and distress. Amidst these numerous and absorbing occupations, he found time for literary pursuits and the reform of Church music. His *Pastoral Rule* was one of the widely used books of the Middle Ages, and his name has been perpetuated in the expression "Gregorian Chant," which is still applied to the special features introduced by him in ecclesiastical singing. His saying that frequently he could not tell whether he filled the office of a bishop or that of a secular ruler aptly expresses his position in the disorganized state of a disappearing Roman world and of the newly founded barbarian kingdoms. His energetic efforts and powerful influence made of Rome in the Middle Ages the intellectual centre of Christian Europe. Always forgetful of self he took the title "*Servant of the Servants of God*" which has ever since been retained by his successors on the papal throne.

II. Monasticism

131. The Meaning of Monasticism.—Monasticism denotes essentially seclusion or withdrawal from the world, and aims at a higher Christian perfection in the observance of the evangelical counsels of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Although based on Our Lord's teaching as contained in the Sacred Scriptures, it was developed in the Church only by slow degrees. Its forerunners were the *Ascetics*, *i. e.*, persons of both sexes who in the first centuries, without leaving their homes, observed continence, renounced property, and devoted their lives to the poor and needy. Its first real exponents were the *Solitaries* or *Anchorites* who, in the time of persecution, left home and family and sought peace and safety in the desert. Some of them became so attached to this new mode of life, in which they could serve

God unhampered by the distractions and troubles of this world, that they continued it even after the cessation of the persecutions. "At first these hermits were simple laymen; they lived apart without dependence on any common superior. Their only rule was the teaching of Christ and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Little by little, disciples began to flock to one or another of these hermits, the fame of whose holiness was noised abroad. Thus St. Anthony, in his later years, allowed a number of other hermits to gather round his cell and to lead a life of prayer and penance under his direction.

Such heterogeneous groups were held together at the outset solely by the individual good-will of the members, but, as their number increased, some definite organization became necessary. This was supplied by the Abbot *Pachomius*, who modified the tradition of the desert by the adaptation of its spirit to the conditions of the *cenobitic* or *community life*. Regular monasteries now began to be formed, and they soon became the ordinary place for training in the spiritual life. For a time, almost every monastery lived according to its own rule. Gradually, however, the rule of *St. Basil*, which was specially adapted to local requirements, became the almost universal code of monastic life in the East."[1]

132. St. Benedict (490–543) and Monastic Life in the West.—As the rule of St. Basil was universally adopted in the east, so that of St. Benedict quickly spread and was soon generally followed in the west. St. Benedict was born at Nursia in Italy about 490. He was the son of a Roman noble and was perhaps a twin with his sister St. Scholastica. His parents came with him to Rome, where he spent his boyhood and attended the schools. Abandoning the prospects of a successful worldly career, he retired into solitude and became the founder of the great monastery of *Monte Cassino*, the mother-house of the Benedictine order and for a long time the monastic centre of the West. He also com-

[1] Paschal Robinson in *Cath. Univ. Bull.*, Nov., 1916, p. 144.

posed a rule in which he enjoined upon the monks the twofold duty of prayer and work. The kind of work to which the monks were to devote themselves was not specified; it would be determined by the circumstances of time and place. As a consequence, the Benedictines became the farmers, schoolmasters, and missionaries of the early Middle Ages. They taught the Germanic nations the arts of civilization, and the material and intellectual progress of the medieval period was effected under their guidance and inspiration. They taught the roving barbarians the art of tilling the soil; they copied the ancient literary treasures and thus saved them at least in part for posterity; they kept alive the flame of ecclesiastical knowledge and maintained schools for the education of youth; they became the counsellors of kings and exercised considerable political influence; but above all they preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ and brought Western Europe under the benign and civilizing influence of the Christian Church.

The monks, whether they followed the Benedictine or some other rule, were originally almost exclusively laymen. The number of priests increased only gradually among them, and it was only after several centuries that they began to form the majority.

III. Irish and Anglo-Saxon Monks; The Conversion of the Germans

133. Missionary Labors of Irish Monks.—The most active missionaries of the period came from the islands of the west: first from Ireland which had been spared the destruction and devastation of the migration of the nations, and at a later date from England. In the seventh century Ireland sent numerous missionaries to the European continent in general and to Germany in particular. *St. Columban*, the most prominent among them, and *St. Gall*, his disciple, preached the Gospel among the Alemanni. The former,

after working with ardent zeal and partial success at the reform of morals among the Franks, proceeded to Switzerland, where he devoted his energy to the destruction of paganism and the introduction of Christianity. Later he went southward and founded in northern Italy the monastery of Bobbio, where he died in 615. His companion, St. Gall, came with him as far as Switzerland, where he founded a monastery and worked until the end of his days at the conversion of the natives. His name remained attached to his monastic foundation and to one of the Swiss cantons. Not only Switzerland, but southern and central Germany also, were evangelized by Irish missionaries. The great Apostle of Germany, however, was the Englishman, Winfrid, better known under the Latin name of Boniface.

134. St. Boniface, Missionary, Organizer, and Reformer (about 680–755).—Saint Boniface was born at Crediton in Devonshire, England. He embraced the monastic life and became the greatest missionary of the eighth century. Although he is more especially known as a very successful preacher, he was also a great practical organizer and a most zealous reformer of ecclesiastical abuses. As a preacher of the Gospel to the heathen he worked particularly among the Frisians, Thuringians, and Hessians; as an organizer he appeared in Bavaria whereas as a reformer he labored chiefly among the Franks.

1. *Missionary.*—St. Boniface undertook his first missionary journey in 716 to Frisia, but after a short stay in the country returned to his native England, as the Frisians were then at war with the Franks. Two years later he resumed his missionary work, first went to Rome, was commissioned by the Pope (Gregory II) to preach the Gospel to the heathen nations and returned by way of Germany to the Frisians. He now labored successfully among the latter for three years and then went to Germany, from whence he addressed a report of his work to the Apostolic See. The Pope in answer summoned him to Rome, conse-

crated him bishop and sent him back to Germany (722). Great success continued to attend the efforts of the ardent missionary. This was particularly the case after his destruction, among the Hessians, of the sacred oak of Thor, out of the wood of which he erected a church in honor of St. Peter. The felling of this sacred tree was, in the eyes of the pagans, a proof of the powerlessness of their false gods. They now accepted in large numbers the Christian religion.

2. *Organizer.*—In 737 Boniface undertook a third journey to Rome to consult with the Pope, who had recently created him archbishop. He was received in the friendliest manner at the papal court and remained for almost a year in the Eternal City. With his return to Germany as Legate Apostolic begins in a more particular manner his activity as organizer. Christianity had been preached and accepted in Bavaria at an earlier date; but the Bavarian Church had fallen into a state of disorder and decline. St. Boniface brought order out of chaos by dividing the country into four dioceses (Munich, Ratisbon, Salzburg, and Passau), and by appointing worthy bishops to these sees He established bishoprics also in the districts newly evangelized by him, and must be considered the founder of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Germany.

3. *Reformer.*—His work of reform could begin seriously in the Frankish Church only after the death of Charles Martel (741), for Charles had shown little willingness to cooperate in such an undertaking. As his successors were more sympathetic in their attitude, several councils were held and enacted wholesome measures for the suppression of abuses. The pagan practises still lingering among the converted people were forbidden. The clergy were enjoined to observe, in their manner of life, the rules laid down in ecclesiastical law. The observance of the measures themselves by clergy and people was secured by a more thorough diocesan organization and by the appointment of a virtuous and efficient episcopate.

Desirous of concluding his apostolic life in the country in which it had begun, Boniface floated down the Rhine with 52 companions and resumed his work of missionary among the Frisians. The apostolic band met with considerable success and effected numerous conversions. A terrible catastrophe, unfortunately, put a sudden end to their work. When on June 5, 755, some newly converted Christians were to receive the sacrament of confirmation near Dokhum, by the northern sea, a band of armed pagans suddenly appeared on the scene and massacred Boniface and his fellow-missioners. Thus perished the great Apostle who effected the lasting conversion of the Germans, restored ecclesiastical discipline among the Franks, and was, everywhere he went, one of the mightiest promoters of papal power.

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SECOND EPOCH

From the Coronation of Charlemagne to the End of the Crusades (800-1270)

135. General Statement.—During this period the work of transforming the Germanic barbarians into one great family of Christian nations is continued by the Catholic Church and brought to a successful termination. The Church so successfully exerts her moderating and refining influence over the manners and morals of the people that the centuries under treatment are the flourishing period of the Middle Ages. In it we witness:

1. *The papal power at its height.* The papacy issues triumphant from its struggle with the empire, and during the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216) wields the greatest power it has ever exercised during the long period of its existence.

2. The *Crusades*, *i.e.*, those religious and military expeditions in which all Christendom unites in a common effort for the conquest of the Holy Land from the Saracens.

3. *The foundation and development of the universities.*

4. *A magnificent development of Gothic art and the erection of the remarkable medieval cathedrals.*

5. *The prevalence of a thoroughly Christian spirit in the political, social, scientific and artistic world.* An attack upon religious principles, upon the established Catholic Church, is considered at the same time an attack upon the state, so intimate is the connection that exists between them.

CHAPTER XII

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE AND ITS DISRUPTION

136. General Character of the Empire of Charlemagne.—The empire of Charlemagne shows in typical fashion the intimate union of the three principal factors of medieval development: (1) *The Christian*; (2) *The Ancient*; (3) *The Germanic.*

1. *The Christian Element.*—Charlemagne became, by his imperial coronation, the highest protector of the Church, and the Church, in its turn, was constituted the strongest tie uniting the different parts of his dominions. As universal protector of the Catholic faith, he considered the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth his principal duty and mission. This is clearly apparent in the oath of allegiance which he demanded of his subjects and in which the service of God is mentioned as the first obligation binding upon them. It is evidenced also in the great interest which he exhibited in ecclesiastical government and the appointment of worthy bishops and abbots. In the many wars which he waged the religious motive occupied a most important place: they were mostly undertaken against the infidel and contributed to the spread and maintenance of the Christian religion.

2. *The Element of Antiquity.*—The conferring of the imperial crown did not mean the creation of a new power, but the restoration of the dignity as it existed in ancient Rome. Not only did this title recall Roman institutions, but the Latin language was used by state as well as by Church; it was in Latin also that the literary productions of the time were written. Moreover, the contemporary literature found inspiration in ancient models of the later classical age. Thus the influence of the ancient civilization continued to assert itself in spite of barbarian domination. This was particularly the case in the large part of the empire which was completely latinized.

EUROPE
in the time of
CHARLEMAGNE
about 814
The Frankish Empire
The Califate
The Byzantine Empire
Slavic peoples tributary to Charlemagne
Seat of Archbishopric
Seat of Bishopric
Frontier Trading Stations underlined thus: Erfurt
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
THE HEBRIDES
IRELAND
ENGLAND
Canterbury
Winchester
London
Boulogne
Brest
BRITTANY
Rouen
Amiens
Paris
Orleans
Loire R.
Nantes
Tours
Poitiers
Limoges
Bourges
Troyes
Verdun
Metz
Toul
Strasburg
Dijon
Besançon
Basel
Constance
St. Gall
Lyons
Geneva
Grenoble
Milan
Trent
Verona
Aquileia
Laibach
Pavia
Genoa
Turin
Avignon
Toulouse
Narbonne
Marseilles
Nice
Bologna
Florence
Ravenna
Ancona
Spoleto
Orvieto
Rome
Gaeta
Benevento
Salerno
Naples
Amalfi
Otranto
Bordeaux
Santiago de Compostella
Oviedo
Oporto
Duero R.
Roncesvalles
Burgos
Salamanca
Zaragossa
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Toledo
Guadiana R.
Cordova
Seville
Guadalquivir R.
Granada
Cadiz
Strait of Gibraltar
Tangier
Barcelona
Corsica
Sardinia
Majorca
Minorca
Balearic Is.
Palermo
Sicily
Syracuse
Carthage
Kairwan
Malta
Tripoli
Aix
Metz
Worms
Frankfort
Mainz
Treves
Cologne
Aachen
Paderborn
Minden
Bremen
Hamburg
Lübeck
Magdeburg
Erfurt
Halberstadt
Hildesheim
Brunswick
Ratisbon
Freising
Passau
Salzburg
Kempten
Constance
Prague
Canburg
Hallstadt
Wurzburg
Frankfort
Mecklenburg
Abodrites
Wilzi
Sorbs
Sclavonia
Croatia
Dalmatia
Sisseck
Aquileia
Verona
Trent
Milan
Pavia
Genoa
Turin
Nice
Bologna
Florence
Ravenna
Ancona
Spoleto
Orvieto
Rome
Gaeta
Benevento
Salerno
Naples
Amalfi
Otranto
Tarentum
Brundusium
Adriatic Sea
Tyrrhenian Sea
Ionian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Sea of Africa
Gulf of Venice
Gulf of Lyons
Gulf of Genoa
Gulf of Tarentum
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Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Nice
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Marseilles
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Aix
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Metz
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Worms
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Frankfort
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Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Minden
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Bremen
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Hamburg
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Lübeck
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Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Halberstadt
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Hildesheim
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Brunswick
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Ratisbon
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Freising
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Passau
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Salzburg
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Kempten
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Constance
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Prague
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Canburg
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Hallstadt
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Wurzburg
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Frankfort
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Mecklenburg
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Abodrites
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Wilzi
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Sorbs
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Sclavonia
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Croatia
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Dalmatia
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Sisseck
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Aquileia
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Verona
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Trent
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Milan
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Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Benevento
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Salerno
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Naples
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Amalfi
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Otranto
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Tarentum
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Brundusium
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Adriatic Sea
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Tyrrhenian Sea
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Ionian Sea
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Mediterranean Sea
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Sea of Africa
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Venice
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Lyons
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Genoa
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Tarentum
Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of Gulf of

Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150
NORTH SEA
HELGOLAND
Danebork
NORD-ALBINGIA
Hamburg
Mecklenburg
Abodrites
Bremen
Verden
Bardowiek
Linones
Ukrians
Elbe R.
Wilzians
Schesel
Saxons
Ems R.
Weser R.
Westphalians
Osnabrück
Minden
Hildesheim
Eastphalians
Hevellians
Magdeburg (Cüdlo)
Utrecht
Münster
Halberstadt
Paderborn
Rhine R.
Ghent
Maestricht
Louvain
Cologne
Büraburg
Fritzlar
THURINGIA
Erfurt
Tongres
Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen)
Hesse
Frankfort
Arras
Scheldt R.
ARDENNES
AUSTRASIA
Canburg
Cambray
Main R.
Hallstadt
Laon
Soissons
Mayence
Worms
Würzburg
Forchheim
Trèves
Verdun
Metz
Spires
Reims
NORDGAU (BOHEMIAN MARCH)
Gulf of Finland
Peoples
Khazars
Volga R.
Petchenegs
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Poles
Dniester R.
Magyars (Hungarians)
CASPIAN SEA
Zichians
Anasgians
CAUCASUS MTS.
Cherson
BLACK SEA
Bulgarians
Danube R.
BALKAN MTS.
Sophia
Adrianople
Bosporus
Trapezus
Philippopolis
THRACE
Constantinople
Nicomedia
Nice
Thessalonica
Angora
Dorylaeum
EMPIRE
PHRYGIA
Iconium
Araxes R.
Edessa
Tigris R.
MESOPOTAMIA
Athens
GREECE
PELOPONNESUS
Antioch
Bagdad
Euphrates R.
RHODES
CYPRUS
Damascus
CRETE
Sidon
Tyre
Acre
Nazareth
Jaffa
Jerusalem
PALESTINE
Gaza
PERSIAN GULF
Alexandria
Pelusium
BERENICE
ABBASSIDS
ARABIA
RED SEA
THE
of Greenwich
30°
40°
50°
60°

3. *The Germanic Element.*—The empire included not only almost all the Latin nations of Europe; it embraced also nearly all the Germanic peoples of the continent. The dynasty itself was Germanic and hailed from Austrasia. The laws of the state were founded on the German codes, and the government was in the hands of the invaders. Charlemagne himself must be looked upon as the founder of German literature, since he demanded that the clergy teach the people the Our Father, the Creed, and the fundamental religious truths in the vernacular.

137. Louis the Pious (814–840).—The vast and heterogeneous empire which Charlemagne had created was held together by his overwhelming greatness and commanding personality. His death in 814 marked at the same time the beginning of the disruption of the unwieldy Frankish state. It was first divided into separate kingdoms, and these in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries broke up into a multitude of provinces or principalities. Out of the one Carolingian empire were formed the small and loosely connected feudal states of medieval Europe. The causes of the empire's rapid decline were: (1) The weak and changeable character of Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son and successor; (2) the division of the empire and the disputes among the rival rulers; (3) the lack of internal cohesion; (4) the inroads of foreign nations.

Charlemagne's successor, *Louis*, was surnamed by his contemporaries *the Pious*. He was kind, just, and generous; his weakness of character, however, rendered him unfit for the government of any state, but particularly of such a composite empire as was left to him by his father. His two wars with his sons, caused by his divisions of the empire, form the principal topic of the history of his reign.

For his three elder sons Lothair, Pippin, and Louis, surnamed the German, he divided his dominions in 817 into three kingdoms. In theory the empire continued in existence, but it was partitioned into three administrative

divisions. The rulers of these remained subject to their father's authority; they were to conform to his instructions and to follow his directions. One of them, Lothair, their senior, was designated as his father's successor, and was associated with him in the imperial government.

In 823 a fourth son, Charles, later surnamed the Bald, was born to Louis the Pious. The father, desirous of giving him also a kingdom, attempted to make a new territorial division and to reduce the size of the kingdoms already organized. There followed a rebellion of the three elder brothers against their father and war between the two parties. In the military operations Louis the Pious was taken prisoner (833), and forced to pronounce a public confession, in which he accused himself of perjury, sacrilege, and murder. He renounced his crown, divested himself of his sword, donned the garb of a public penitent, was confined in a monastery, and declared incapable of return to secular life.

But this excessive and unjust humiliation caused a revulsion of public feeling in favor of the illustrious penitent. His cause gained further ground when it became apparent that Lothair aimed at securing control of the whole empire. The two brothers Louis and Pippin, unwilling to recognize such authority in him, raised their father from his lowly state and again placed him on the throne (834).

Shortly afterwards Pippin died, and Louis the Pious conferred his dominions on Charles the Bald. This action, though apparently very natural, led to a new civil and family war. But before a decision could be reached in the struggle, Louis the Pious died (840).

138. The Treaty of Verdun (843).—Lothair's ambitious plan was now to secure undivided control of all his father's dominions. His efforts were frustrated by the alliance which his two remaining brothers, Louis and Charles, concluded at Strasburg in a treaty which is the first document preserved in the vernacular. Lothair was forced to yield to his two brothers and to sign the *Treaty of Verdun* in 843.

In this treaty a new territorial division was agreed upon as follows: Lothair retained the imperial title and received as his share a strip of land stretching from the Mediterranean to the North Sea. It was the middle kingdom which from the name Lothair was subsequently called Lotharingia, Lorraine. All the territory east of this kingdom fell to Louis, all the land west of it to Charles.

The Treaty of Verdun definitely separated two parts of the Frankish state: East Frankland and West Frankland. East Frankland became Germany; West Frankland constituted the kingdom of France. Between the two the kingdom of Lothair in less than fifty years broke up into several states; south of the Alps it formed the kingdom of Italy, north of them the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles. Further north still lay Lotharingia or Lorraine, which for a thousand years has been the bone of contention between France and Germany and one of the principal battlegrounds of Europe.

139. The Absence of Internal Cohesion in the Empire.— Charlemagne's commanding personality, supported by the unifying strength of the Church, had held a heterogeneous empire together. After his death the elements of division and disintegration gained the upper hand. Among these factors of dissolution must be mentioned: (1) The *difference of language* between the Gallo-Romans and the Germans. This difference is illustrated, in a striking manner, in the oath of Strasburg, which was taken in two languages, the Germanic and Romance, because the two armies already spoke two different tongues and could no longer understand each other. (2) *The absence of frequent commercial relations* which would have formed a link between the different parts of the empire. (3) *The development of the feudal system.* After the death of Charlemagne, the public offices, as for example the countships, were granted as fiefs and endowed with abundant revenues. The feudal system thus not only gained important political influence, but became the basis of the whole organization of the medieval state. It had the

advantage of furnishing an outlet to the warlike temperament of the Germanic nations. But it brought also in its train the two principal evils from which medieval states suffered: the *continuous neighborhood warfare among the nobility* and the *insubordination of the vassals towards the king*. Insubordination was so rife that it seemed almost to be the normal state. The weakness of the royal power is best illustrated by saying that disobedience to it was not considered a moral stain. The king could claim authority only over his own vassals; and these, on the one hand, frequently disregarded his commands, and, on the other, neglected to transmit them to those over whom the king had no direct jurisdiction. The royal authority was still further weakened when, about the year 900, the fiefs became hereditary and formed powerful provinces which were bound to the king by no other tie than the oath of allegiance lightly assumed but rarely kept by the local lord.

140. New Invasions.—The disintegration of the Carolingian empire, like the destruction of the Roman empire, was hastened by the invasion of barbarians. New invaders assailed the Carolingian monarchy on all sides. In the east, Germany was attacked by the Slavs and Hungarians. In the south, the Saracens continued their conquests along the Mediterranean. In the west and north, the Northmen or Normans carried on their depredations.

1. *The Slavs and Hungarians.* The Slavic tribes which Charlemagne had subjugated or reduced to tribute rebelled after his death. One of them, the Moravians, succeeded in establishing a powerful and independent state on the eastern frontier of Germany. Their empire was, however, only of short duration. It was destroyed about 905 by the Magyars or Hungarians, a people of Tartar origin. The Hungarians made numerous incursions into Frankish territory, advanced as far as South France and South Italy, but, after their decisive defeat in 955 by Otto the Great, they settled permanently in the country now occupied by their descendants.

2. *The Saracens.* The Arabs or Saracens, from Africa as their base of operations, occupied Sicily in the reign of Louis the Pious and ravaged the coasts of Italy and southern France.

3. *The Normans.* More important in the history of western Europe than the preceding invasions were the incursions and the settlements of the Normans. These barbarians came from Scandinavia, *i. e.*, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. They were of Germanic race, but, unlike the former German invaders, they proceeded by water rather than by land. The probable causes of the raids and expeditions of these *Vikings* or sea-rovers, as they have been called, were the poverty of their native land, a too numerous population to be supported at home, and their great love of adventure.

Although they became acquainted with Christianity in the first half of the ninth century, their conversion was completed and their incursions came to an end only in the eleventh century. Their attacks were directed especially against cities situated on large rivers, because there plunder was greatest and access easiest. As France was richer in cities than Germany, she was visited and raided longer and more frequently. The attacks on Germany came to an end in 892; the raids on France ceased only with the permanent cession of territory to the Normans in 912. King Charles the Simple, unable to defend his realm effectively, came to an agreement with their leader, *Rollo.* A treaty was concluded in which the king gave the barbarian chief territory along the northern coast of France, the title of Duke, and his daughter in marriage. Rollo, on his part, promised to acknowledge the French king as his suzerain and to accept Christianity as his religion. The land ceded to the invaders was soon called *Normandy*, from the name of its new settlers.

From this new home the Normans set out for the conquest of England in 1066. Throughout the period of their invasions the Normans revealed themselves not only as daring seamen, but also as capable organizers of states. They laid the foundation of modern Russia in the ninth century,

pushed as far as Iceland, Greenland, and the North American continent in the tenth, and founded an empire in Sicily and Lower Italy in the eleventh century.

141. The End of the Carolingians.—The invasions discussed in the preceding question not only resulted in the establishment of new states, but they also brought about further political divisions in the former empire of Charles the Great and led in France to a change of dynasty. The end of the degenerate Carolingians was not unlike the disappearance of the weak and powerless Merovingians. The Italian branch, *i.e.*, the branch which ruled for a time over the Middle Kingdom, died out in 875; a similar fate overtook the German Carolingians in the death of Louis the Child (911). In France, though for a long time divested of real power, they occupied the throne until 987. In that year the nobles and bishops of the kingdom elected the brave *Hugh Capet,* Count of Paris, as their king, and thus placed the dynasty of the Capetians on the throne.

The growing weakness of the rulers both in France and in Germany, the decline of the central authority and its inability to defend its subjects, had as their natural and necessary result the organization of self-defense undertaken by the powerful nobles and the various provinces of the two kingdoms. France and Germany came, in this political transformation, to be divided into powerful duchies and counties which could act independently and repel a foreign aggressor. The power which dukes and counts thus assumed in self-defense was soon used also to free themselves from royal control and to resist royal interference. The authority of the king was virtually non-existent, and it would be more accurate to speak of as many states as there were duchies and counties than of one state ruled by one monarch.

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CHAPTER XIII

GERMANY: POPES AND EMPERORS

I. Emperors of the Saxon Dynasty

142. The Beginning of the Saxon Dynasty in Germany.— The treaty of Verdun, which divided the former empire of Charlemagne into three great kingdoms, did not permanently attach the imperial dignity to any one of them. In the tenth century only, did Germany come into lasting possession of this coveted honor. The country was then divided into several duchies formed by different races: the Saxons, the Franconians, the Bavarians, and the Suabians. The dukes at the head of these tribes became the candidates for the imperial and royal crowns which were worn successively by *Saxon*, *Franconian*, and *Suabian* princes.

The first king of the Saxon dynasty, which was to reign for a little over a century (919–1024), was Henry I, surnamed the Fowler. Henry (919–936), skilful and energetic, successfully defended his kingdom against invaders from the east, notably the Hungarians, enlarged the old fortresses, constructed new ones, and established several marches or frontier districts under military control for the defense of the eastern border. He also accustomed the Saxons to city life and cavalry service. Up to his time they had shown great reluctance to dwelling in cities, but now submitted to the restrictions which it imposed on their roving habits. As soldiers they were accustomed chiefly to fighting on foot. But the mobility of the Hungarian horsemen made a new method of warfare necessary, and the Saxons, under the practical direction of their king, soon formed a cavalry capable of offering an effective resistance to their fierce opponents. The results of this work of organization became apparent particularly under King Henry's successor, Otto the Great.

143. Otto I, the Great (936–973); **His Internal Policy.**—Otto had hardly received the royal crown at Aix-la-Chapelle when some of his dukes rebelled against him. He promptly subdued them, and, after the suppression of the rebellion, conferred the ducal dignity on near relatives only. The administration of the entire kingdom with its subdivisions was thus concentrated in the hands of one family. The king had hoped to suppress, in this manner, all opposition to his rule. He was to be disappointed in his expectations, for some of the very relatives he had raised to high positions rose in rebellion against him. In face of such ingratitude, he resolved permanently to weaken the ducal power and to rely on the Church for support. Instead of investing lay princes with important fiefs, he endowed archbishoprics and bishoprics with vast estates, and appointed to these sees men of unquestioned loyalty. As these ecclesiastical estates could not become hereditary in the same family, they did not present the same danger for the kingship as the great fiefs held by lay lords. After thus firmly establishing his power at home, Otto I was in a position more freely to devote his attention to foreign, notably Italian, affairs.

144. Otto's External Policy; Expeditions to Italy.—In his dealing with the nations living to the east of Germany, Otto like his father, strove, with success, to extend German influence and to spread Christianity. His most signal triumph was his victory over the Hungarians in 955, which, in its crushing effect, forever put an end to their invasions. (See No. 140.) The results of this victory, as already indicated, were the settlement of the Hungarians in the country which still bears their name and the introduction of Christianity among them.

Otto's dealings with Italy form a most important chapter in the history of his reign. At the treaty of Verdun that country had been assigned to Lothair. Since then it had fallen apart into many feudal principalities. The papacy had greatly suffered amidst the attending disorders and

become the booty of the rival families of the Roman nobility. In the kingdom of Lombardy, which had again been established in northern Italy, opposing factions contended for the throne. Mindful of the example of Charlemagne, Otto sought to restore order and to secure control in Italy, in pursuance of which he undertook three expeditions to that country.

The first of these occurred in 951 and resulted in the subjugation of Lombardy, which henceforth was held by its rulers as a fief of the German kings. The second and most important expedition lasted from 961 to 965. It was undertaken in answer to an appeal for assistance from Pope John XII, whose authority in Rome was threatened by Berengarius, the Lombard king. Otto proceeded to Rome without encountering resistance, and in reward for his services was, like Charlemagne, crowned emperor by the Pope on February 2, 962.

From this renewal of the empire onward, the imperial dignity was reserved to the German kings, and with the year 962 begins the *Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation*, which lasted, at least in name, until 1806. After 962 the German king usually wore three crowns: as ruler of Germany the *Silver Crown* which he received at Aix-la-Chapelle; as King of Lombardy, the *Iron Crown* which was conferred on him at Monza near Milan; as Emperor, the *Golden Crown* with which he was invested at Rome by the Pope. The emperors could use the imperial title, during the first centuries, only after their coronation in Rome. Owing to this fact, after their election to the German kingship they usually proceeded with an army to Italy. These Italian expeditions of the half-barbarian Germans were usually accompanied by cruel devastations.

Recurring disorders in the Eternal City called Otto I to Italy for a third time in 966. He punished severely, on this occasion, the turbulent Roman nobles who had rebelled against John XIII and had attempted to deprive him of the papacy. On Christmas Day, 967, he had his thirteen-year-

old son crowned joint emperor, and now openly avowed his plan of conquering Lower Italy. He was unable to carry this ambitious scheme into effect, but it was to be taken up later more energetically by some of his successors.

145. General Results of the Imperial Expeditions to Italy.—The close connection of the German kingship with the imperial dignity brought with it important results both for the papacy and Germany. It led to the numerous Italian expeditions which took the kings away from their own country at a time when their presence was most necessary at home. These frequent and at times protracted absences led to rebellions among the nobility and to attacks by hostile frontier tribes. In striving after the establishment of a universal empire, the German kings sought to grasp an ever-vanishing phantom and became involved in the bitterest conflicts with the papacy. The fact that the imperial dignity added prestige to the royal title, that the journeys to Rome maintained the connection between ancient civilization and the North, and that through them German national sentiment was aroused and strengthened affords but inadequate compensation for the disadvantages of an impossible imperial policy.

146. The Last Emperors of the Saxon Dynasty.—Otto the Great was succeeded by his son Otto II, who reigned for ten years (973–983). After triumphing completely over a conspiracy organized against him at home, he undertook a campaign for the conquest of southern Italy. He gained, indeed, some successes in the expedition, but was ultimately defeated by his enemies, fled northward, and shortly after died in Rome. He left the throne to his three-year-old son, Otto III (983-1002). During the minority of the new ruler, the government was carried on in Germany by his mother, and in Italy by his grandmother. The boy was gifted with high intellectual talents, knew Latin and Greek, but was of a dreamy and impractical turn of mind. In his scheme of political organization, not Germany, which he despised as

barbarian, but Italy was to form the main part of the empire and Rome was to become its capital. He died before he could put any such plan into execution and left the throne to the last representative of the dynasty, Henry II.

The new king was well versed in the culture of his day, but was, above all, calculating and practical in administrative affairs. He had been destined for the priesthood and was thoroughly familiar with the practises and needs of the Church. He extended to it his powerful protection, realizing full well that he was thus defending his own interests, since he had to rely principally on the support of churchmen in his government of the state. He also afforded protection to the lower classes of society as against the feudal lords, and was ever active in maintaining and enforcing public peace and security. It is a fact worthy of note that both he and his wife Kunigunde have been placed by the Church among her canonized Saints.

II. The Franconian or Salian Emperors (1024–1125). The Investiture Quarrel

147. Accession of the Franconian Dynasty; Some Leading Events in its History.—Conrad II (1024–1039), related on the maternal side to the Saxon dynasty, was chosen to succeed Henry II, who had died childless. He became the founder of a new dynasty, that of the four Franconian emperors. Their reigns are notable for the following events: (1) The acquisition of the kingdom of *Burgundy* or *Arles* by the empire (1033); (2) the further extension and consolidation of the eastern frontiers in wars with the Slavs and Hungarians; (3) expeditions to Italy for the purposes of receiving the imperial crown and of restoring order in that much disturbed country; (4) the efforts made, at times with great success, to strengthen the royal power at home; (5) the Investiture Quarrel which formed the absorbing question of the time. It became a burning issue only under the last

two kings of the dynasty, but before their reigns the social and religious conditions which led to it were in existence.

148. Meaning of Investiture.—Investiture designates the formal installation into an office or estate of a newly chosen official by emperor, king, or other suzerain. The lord, after receiving the vassal's homage, invested him with his land or office by presenting some symbol, such as a banner, branch, or sword. The sword and sceptre, after some time, became the ordinary emblems of investiture conferred by laymen. At the beginning of the eleventh century, the ring and crozier had become the general practise in ecclesiastical investiture. According to general Catholic principles, ecclesiastical investiture which confers a spiritual office—as, for example, a bishopric—ought to be conferred by a spiritual superior. In the Middle Ages, however, the Church owned immense estates, for the defense of which she had recourse to secular means. The bishops and abbots entrusted the working of their domains to laymen; these promised, in return, assistance with the sword in case of need. Some ecclesiastics, in this manner, became temporal princes and suzerains with vassals to fight for them, and with all the rights and privileges of lay lords. While they were subject to spiritual authority, they were at the same time vassals of the emperor, king or some other lord from whom they received investiture. In other words, bishoprics and ecclesiastical benefices had in many cases acquired a twofold character, spiritual and secular, and the latter predominating, it often happened that ecclesiastics, receiving the insignia of their temporal office from lay princes, were also appointed to their spiritual duties by those same princes in what was practically one ceremony.

149. Consequences of Lay Investiture.—The conferring of ecclesiastical dignities by secular princes in the above described manner is called lay investiture. Many of the abuses of the period may be traced to its prevalence, although the civil rulers in many instances chose excellent men for

ecclesiastical positions. The evils arose from the confusion which ensued between ecclesiastical affairs and temporal concerns. The main work in the life of a bishop, the duties of his episcopal office, soon receded into the dim background in the minds of many, and the wealth, possessions and honors received undue and exaggerated consideration. The lay authorities went so far as to invest the bishops with crozier and ring, the emblems of their spiritual power. They carried on an unholy traffic in ecclesiastical dignities, disposed of church offices in favor of the highest bidder, or recommended for advancement and secured the appointment of unworthy favorites. The sin of simony was one of the most prevalent of the period, but it was hardly more widespread than the other great contemporary evil, clerical marriage. Both sins were undoubtedly, to a considerable extent, the result of lay investiture. As a consequence, any efforts tending to their lasting suppression and a genuine reform of the Church had to aim at the elimination of lay investiture itself.

150. The Monks of Cluny; Import of the Investiture Quarrel.—The work of church reform was undertaken with the greatest energy in the second half of the eleventh century; but it was prepared long before that time by the monks of Cluny in eastern France and by their disciples in affiliated monasteries. Leading austere lives themselves, these saintly religious preached, by word and example, the need of a truly Christian spirit and irreproachable conduct, particularly among the clergy. They also strove to increase the moral authority and to strengthen the ecclesiastical power of the Popes so as to find in them support against worldly minded bishops. Through their influence a purer and more vigorous spiritual life began to animate the Church, and a more faithful observance of ecclesiastical law could be demanded and insisted on.

The reform thus prepared by them was put into effect largely under the influence of Hildebrand, who later became

Pope Gregory VII. Under his inspiration, prohibitions were issued by some Popes against simony, clerical marriage, and lay investiture. But it was during his own pontificate that the crisis in the conflict over investiture was reached. Although the contest was apparently about lay investiture, it had in reality a far wider significance and import. It was in fact a struggle for supremacy in Christendom between the papacy and the empire. In its final analysis, the real issue was whether the papal or the imperial power was to be supreme in the Christian world.

151. The Two Leading Personages in the Investiture Contest; Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV.—Hildebrand, who later became Pope under the name of Gregory VII, was born in Italy of poor parents. Although it is doubtful whether he ever sojourned at Cluny, it is quite certain that he came under the influence of the Cluniac reform movement. At a later date he was created cardinal and entrusted with the management of the papal finances. In this position he was the most influential counsellor of the Popes and the soul of the party advocating ecclesiastical reform. When in 1073 he was elected to the papacy the Church was given in his person not only a far-seeing leader, but also an energetic pontiff, who has been greatly admired and much calumniated and who was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable men of all time. He sought ardently the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth under the guidance of the papacy.

If in some of his utterances he seems to claim authority over both spiritual and temporal affairs, it was not through ambition, as is frequently asserted, but because he held that the spiritual interests of men are of primary importance and must be safeguarded, if necessary, even at the cost of the independence of the secular power. In regard to lay investiture, he considered that its existence and practise endangered the very life of the Church and that the civil power ought to yield absolute submission. He lived in the firm conviction that on this point compromise was im-

GREGORY VII

possible. Under the then existing circumstances he met naturally with the fiercest resistance from the German king.

His opponent, Henry IV, was only six years old at his father's death in 1056. The queen-mother (Agnes of Poitou) assumed the regency, but did not possess sufficient firmness to give either a strong government to the state or a thorough and consistent education to her son. The character of the youthful Henry was utterly spoiled first by the excessive severity, then by the too great leniency, of his teachers. His lack of self-restraint is only too noticeable in him after he assumed personal charge of the government in 1065. He soon encroached, in most arbitrary fashion, on the rights of the Church, and disregarded the interests of the princes. It is doubtful, indeed, whether, under the existing circumstances, a conflict between Church and state could have been avoided, but it is certain that Henry's wilfulness and capricious proceedings embittered it.

152. The Beginning of the Investiture Quarrel.—In 1073 Gregory VII was acclaimed by the Roman people and elected by the cardinals as successor to St. Peter. He immediately took up the work of religious reform. At a synod held in 1074 he renewed the prohibitions which, under his inspiration, his predecessors had issued against simony and clerical marriage. Ecclesiastics who have been guilty on one of these heads are forbidden the exercise of their spiritual functions. Should they disregard this prohibition, the people are enjoined not to attend the services conducted by them. In 1075, to the prohibitions of simony and clerical marriage was added that of lay investiture. Considerable opposition to all these measures developed immediately.

King Henry IV in particular disregarded them entirely. He distributed the offices of the Church as he had done before and appointed a new Archbishop of Milan even before the see was vacant. Gregory was, in spite of these offenses, willing to treat with the disobedient king, but Henry was not disposed to make concessions or to change

his conduct. The Pope dispatched special messengers to Germany threatening the king with excommunication and deposition unless he showed signs of repentance and heeded the pontifical decrees. Henry retorted by summoning two councils, one in Germany, the other in Italy, at which he pronounced the deposition of Gregory VII and made known the decision to the Pope in an insulting letter which dared to question the authority and even the integrity of Hildebrand.

This step was a far-reaching one: a bitter and protracted struggle ensued between the papacy and the empire. Gregory answered the emperor's insolence with a decree of excommunication and a declaration releasing all his subjects from their oath of fealty. The effect of this measure was so momentous that Henry had to fight for his crown during all the subsequent years of his reign. Gregory's design in taking action against the king was to bring him to terms rather than to effect his deposition. The German princes, however, were waiting for an opportunity to weaken the king's power and, in consequence, many forsook him, and a diet was called for the election of a successor. Its final decision was to allow Henry a year, during which the sentence of excommunication must be removed under penalty of the forfeiture of his crown. It was also agreed that the whole question between Pope, king, and princes should be settled at a diet to be held at Augsburg in the following year and at which the three parties should be present.

153. The Meeting at Canossa.—Before the time for the appointed meeting came round, Henry, in the midst of winter, crossed the Alps with his wife Bertha and his son Conrad, suffering the greatest hardships and exposing himself to many dangers. When he appeared in North Italy, Gregory VII was already on his way to Germany. At the news of Henry's arrival, he interrupted his journey and took refuge in the impregnable castle of *Canossa*, the hereditary possession of the great protectress of the Holy See, the Countess Matilda. Henry reached the castle on January

25, 1077, anxious for an interview with the Pope and for the removal of the sentence of excommunication. Upon Gregory's refusal to receive him, he stood for three days barefoot in the snow, and clad in penitential garb, before the gate of the castle imploring forgiveness. Finally yielding to the entreaties of Matilda and of other influential persons, Gregory admitted the guilty monarch to his presence and received him back into communion with the Church.

Contemporaries saw, in this penance of the king, no degradation or abasement of the royal dignity. At a later date, however, Gregory's refusal to receive Henry was stigmatized, by those who refuse to acknowledge any right of the Church to interfere in temporal matters, as an act of wanton cruelty on the part of an inhuman despot. Both Gregory and Henry have been criticized by modern writers for the part which they played at Canossa: Gregory because he refused audience; Henry because, in lowly and humble fashion, he petitioned for forgiveness. However a calm and unprejudiced consideration of the whole occurrence leads us to the following conclusions. In the first place the three days' penance performed by Henry was not imposed by Gregory but self-inflicted. In the second place the king's appearance at Canossa placed Gregory in a very embarrassing position, for, according to previous agreement, the whole matter was to be settled publicly at a diet in Germany, and not privately without the German princes in Italy. Again, even if Henry's conversion were sincere, a fact which had to be carefully ascertained owing to his previous refusals to consider himself bound by solemn obligations, the question still remained as to how the German princes would view a reconciliation and arrangement thus effected between Pope and king without consulting them. In regard to Henry's abject humiliation, as it is called, it must be observed that such penances and more severe ones were not infrequently performed in the Middle Ages by kings and nobles. It seems, moreover, evident that Henry's action, far from ex-

cessively diminishing the authority of the royal dignity and power, was, on the contrary, in its very intention, a clever diplomatic move to save his crown and to strengthen his authority.

154. New Excommunication of the King; Deposition of the Pope; Appointment of an Antipope.—The lifting of the sentence of excommunication did not restore peace between king and princes. The latter met in March, 1077, recapitulated their grievances against Henry IV, pronounced his deposition and elected his brother-in-law Rudolph of Suabia to the kingship.

Gregory was displeased with this undue haste to choose a new king. As it was too late to make the princes reconsider or go back on their election, he offered to arbitrate between the two parties. His mediation was indeed accepted; both sides, however, intended to rely for a solution not on his decision alone, but also on success in the war which was already in progress. Henry, successful in battle against his opponent, soon imperiously demanded his own recognition, threatening, in case of refusal, not only Gregory's deposition, but the appointment of a new Pope. Incensed at such arrogance, Gregory, at the Lenten Synod held in Rome in 1080, bestowed the crown on Rudolph and excommunicated and deposed Henry. The latter shortly after took his revenge by proclaiming at a synod the deposition of the Pope. He went further and appointed an antipope in the person of Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, who styled himself Clement III. The death of his rival Rudolph in battle confirmed Henry in his resistance to the lawful Pope.

He soon left with an expeditionary force for Rome to force Gregory to submission and to conquer the imperial crown. He had entertained the hope of quickly seizing Rome and of finishing the war in short fashion. But Rome closed its gates against him, and it was only in 1084 that he finally succeeded in making his entry. Even now Gregory VII,

in spite of the entreaties of the Romans, refused to treat with him and maintained himself in the castle of Sant' Angelo. The imperial coronation was accordingly performed by the Antipope Clement III.

155. The Normans in Rome; Gregory's Death at Salerno (May 25, 1085).—Gregory was on the point of falling into Henry's hands when a new nation, the *Normans*, who had established themselves in southern Italy, appeared on the scene in defense of the papacy. Gregory had entered into friendly relations with them; and their celebrated leader, Robert Guiscard, now advanced to his help with a powerful army. Without awaiting the arrival of the Norman duke, Henry abandoned Rome and retreated northward.

Gregory was thus freed from the Germans, but he was no longer safe in Rome. Quarrels broke out between the Normans and the inhabitants, and the new invaders, though they had come in defense of the Pope, looted the city, burned it in part, and sold many of its citizens into slavery. The exasperation of the Roman population at this inhuman treatment soon turned itself against the Pope who had called such a cruel soldiery to his help. Owing to the hostile state of popular feeling, Gregory had to withdraw from Rome with the Norman troops and to abandon the city to the antipope (1084).

He spent the remainder of his life in the monastery of Monte Cassino and in the city of Salerno. He died in the latter place on May 25, 1085, convinced that he had fought for nothing but right and justice in his conflict with the imperial power. His last words were: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile." He lies buried in the cathedral of Salerno.

156. The Investiture Contest after Gregory's Death; Its Settlement in the Concordat of Worms (1122).—Gregory's death did not result in peace between the ecclesiastical and civil power. His successors renewed the prohibitions against lay investiture and even made them more stringent by forbidding the clergy to render homage to a layman.

On the other hand, King Henry remained just as determined in his opposition to ecclesiastical reform and to a change in the existing practises. Toward the end of his life his obstinacy furnished the occasion for the rebellion of his son Henry and his own enforced abdication (1105). He succeeded, however, even after he had resigned the crown, in gathering troops around his standard, and the armies of father and son were on the point of meeting in battle when Henry IV's sudden death put an end to the unnatural family feud (1106).

As soon as Henry V (1106–1125) was securely in possession of the royal crown, he reversed his policy, until then favorable to the Holy See, and insisted no less than his father had done, on the right of investiture. With 30,000 knights, the greatest army an emperor had yet led across the Alps, he undertook a journey to Rome to receive the imperial crown and to negotiate with the Pope. As Paschal II, who was then reigning, was firmly determined to abolish lay investiture, there seemed to be little hope of composing the quarrel.

A treaty was nevertheless concluded in which Henry promised to discontinue the practise of lay investiture, while the Pope agreed that the bishops should renounce all their fiefs and landed estates dependent on the crown. The treaty, however, could not be carried into effect owing to the bishops' refusal to make such renunciation. Its stipulations were, indeed, completely at variance with the spirit and conditions of the time, and were too radical to be carried out, at least in a permanent way. At all events, it became clearer as years went by that no such extreme solution was possible and that peace must be sought in a compromise.

Of such a nature was the *Concordat of Worms*, which finally put an end to the struggle. The provisions were the following: (1) The emperor promised not to interfere with the free elections of bishops and abbots. (2) He renounced the practise of investing the bishop-elect with ring and staff. (3) In return the Pope agreed that episcopal elections should

be held in presence of the emperor or one of his delegates. (4) He also granted the emperor the right to confer with the sceptre the fiefs or landed estates on the bishop-elect before his consecration.

This Concordat was ratified in 1123 at the *Council of the Lateran, the first general council ever held in the West.*

III. The Suabian or Hohenstaufen Emperors (1138–1254). Renewed Struggle between the Papacy and the Empire

157. The New Dynasty and the Period during which it Reigned.—The Franconian emperors were followed after the short reign of Lothair II (1125–1137) by the *Suabian* or *Hohenstaufen* emperors. This new dynasty occupied the throne from 1138–1254. The period was the most brilliant in the history of the empire, and the most flourishing in the history of medieval Germany. It was not, however, a time of peace and unhindered progress, for it was marked by three important conflicts: (1) Between Guelfs and Ghibellines, (2) between Papacy and Empire, (3) between Emperors and the Italian Cities or Communes.

The feuds between Guelfs and Ghibellines had their origin in Germany, but soon extended to Italy. They arose from the opposition of the house of *Welf*, a name which in Latin countries was transformed into *Guelf*, to the Lords of *Waiblingen*, which in Romance parlance received the easier form of Ghibelline. The House of Welf was in possession of the Duchy of Bavaria, whereas the House of Hohenstaufen ruled Suabia and owned the castle of Waiblingen. As the House of Hohenstaufen occupied the imperial throne for considerably over a century, the name Ghibelline served to designate the supporters of the emperors, whereas that of Guelf was applied to their opponents. Owing to the conflict between papacy and empire, the supporters of the Popes were soon called Guelfs in Italy.

While the renewed struggle between the two powers, the papal and the imperial, was in progress, new forces arose and acquired strength in Germany, in the free imperial cities; and in Italy, in the communes. The early development of the Italian communes, *i. e.*, small self-governing republics, brought the Hohenstaufen emperors face to face with a new enemy. Through the growth of industry and commerce, the Italian cities had become prosperous and were in a position to claim considerable political freedom. The consequent attempt of the emperors to keep them in subjection forced them to make common cause with the Popes in defense of their liberties.

158. Frederic I, Barbarossa (1152–1190).—The founder of the Hohenstaufen dynasty was Conrad III, who reigned from 1138 to 1152. He had unsuccessfully contested the royal dignity with his predecessor, but was elected and recognized after the latter's death. His reign was marked more by a desire to consolidate his power than by any striking events of general importance. It is, moreover, overshadowed by the brilliant rule of his successor, Frederic I. When at the point of death, Conrad, whose only son was but eight years old, placing national interests before family advantages, had his nephew Frederic of Suabia elected to the kingship.

Frederic I (1152–1190), who because of his red beard was surnamed by the Italians *Barbarossa*, was thirty-one years old when he succeeded his uncle on the throne. He was intelligent, resolute, and ambitious, and was to be a dominant figure in the politics of Europe for thirty-eight years. He was the most perfect type of the medieval German emperor, a sovereign anxious to realize all the ideals and hopes which the men of that time associated with this high office. Brilliant knight and capable statesman though he was, he did not succeed in all his undertakings; but he ruled at a time when Germany was being born to a new life, when national poetry had its beginning, and when the cities became

wealthy and prosperous. Frederic contributed to this prosperity by his vigor in enforcing order and by the magnificence of his court.

In studying his reign it is important to distinguish the aims he pursued as king and those he sought to realize as emperor. As king he endeavored to establish greater unity in the government, to hold in check the turbulent princes and to repress the violence of the petty nobles. His policy as emperor was, according to his own declaration, "to restore in its ancient vigor and excellence the grandeur of the Roman Empire." To attain this end he skilfully used that great instrument of government, the old Roman Law. He surrounded himself with the law professors of the University of Bologna, who searched the Roman code for the maxims most favorable to his authority. They taught him that his will was law and that he was not only the sovereign but the owner of the world. Armed with these concise formulas of personal sovereignty and ownership, Frederic used them with the same skill as his sword. He did not direct his efforts, however, toward the realization of a definite, concrete plan, but strove for the attainment of an intangible ideal of the past. As a result, he succeeded well as king, but failed in the main as emperor. He appeared in the latter capacity especially in Italy where, in spite of his determination and obstinacy, he could triumph neither over the papacy nor over the Lombard cities.

159. Frederic Barbarossa's First Expedition to Italy.— Frederic's most important conflict was with Italy, where he appeared on his first expedition in 1154. The country was at the time dominated in the north by the prosperous Lombard cities, was ruled in the centre by the papacy, and was subject in the south to the Normans. At *Roncaglia* the king held a diet at which the vassals of the empire and the consuls (mayors) of the cities appeared before him to do him homage, to submit their disputes for settlement, and to solicit the confirmation of their privileges. Some of the

Lombard cities offered resistance. They were mercilessly dealt with and reduced to submission, after which Frederic proceeded to Rome. He received the imperial crown at the hands of Pope Adrian IV on June 18, 1155, and returned at once to Germany.

The principal result of this first expedition was to bring face to face again the two great rival powers, the papacy and the empire, represented by two men fully conscious of their rights. At the very first interview Frederic had refused to hold the bridle and stirrup for the Pope when he mounted his horse. As this courtesy was usually performed by the emperors on such occasions, Adrian IV, offended at the omission, had declined to give him the kiss of peace. A whole day of negotiations was necessary to determine the two parties to yield. A lasting peace was evidently impossible between them; but a notable difference exists between this new quarrel and that of investiture.

In the conflict regarding investiture the Pope defended the Church against the encroachments of the civil government. In this new contest he defends his temporal power. He fights for the independence of Rome and only indirectly for the independence of the Church. The ruler of the Patrimony of St. Peter opposes the emperor's domination over Italy. The very city of Rome is the object of a conflict: "St. Peter," the Pope declares, "is its sole master." "If it is not under my command" answers Frederic, "I am emperor only in name." The one recalls the fact that the papacy has transferred the imperial dignity to the Germans; the other insists that the emperors have bestowed the Patrimony of St. Peter on the Popes. Both claim to hold authority independently, and in this they were undoubtedly right, though neither was willing to recognize the complete independence of the other. The difficulties arose particularly in regard to the sphere to which their respective powers extended, there being no clear distinction at the time between the sphere of temporal and that of spiritual concerns.

160. New Expedition to Italy; the Lombard League (1167); Battle of Legnano (1176); Treaties of Venice (1177) and of Constance (1183).—In 1158 difficulties with some Lombard cities made a new expedition to Italy necessary. Milan, especially, had been conspicuous by its opposition to imperial rule and was dealt with severely on this occasion. After a siege lasting for two years and a half it was finally reduced by famine and shown no mercy. The proud city was razed to the ground, and its inhabitants were scattered among the peasants of the neighboring villages. The emperor witnessed the terrible scene of destruction without betraying the least sign of emotion or pity. He could now believe that he had crushed the resistance of North Italy.

His relations with the papacy, however, were becoming more and more unfriendly. They were bad enough under Adrian IV, who, when he died, was contemplating the excommunication of the proud monarch. They became worse after Adrian's death. A stormy election followed, in which the majority elected Alexander III, a defender of papal supremacy over princes, while the minority, favorable to imperial interests, elected Victor IV. Frederic recognized the candidate of the minority, while all the rest of Christendom pronounced in favor of Alexander III. Through the emperor's intrigues, the latter was indeed forced to leave Rome and spent several years (1161–1165) in France. At his return, however, he pronounced the deposition of the emperor and released his subjects from their oath of allegiance. Frederic's answer was the levy of a new army for Italy. He soon stood before Rome, from which the Pope, abandoned by the inhabitants, was forced to fly disguised as a pilgrim. The city surrendered and swore allegiance to the conqueror, who now stood at the height of his career. But a sudden and tragic event utterly destroyed his power. A terrible pestilence broke out in the victorious army and claimed so many victims that the emperor, in the hope of saving the rest, retreated northward. Among the dead was his chancellor,

Rainald of Dassel, the personage mainly responsible for the imperial policy. The terrible visitation was universally looked upon as a judgment of God, and the emperor's enemies took new courage and united their strength. The cities of northern Italy formed the *Lombard League* and also concluded an alliance with the Pope. They built, in defiance, a new fortress in Lombardy, which, in the reigning pontiff's honor, they called *Alexandria*. A new war became necessary. Frederic again invaded Italy and besieged Alexandria; but he was unable to reduce it. While he was pleading with the German princes for reenforcements to enable him to continue the war, he was attacked at *Legnano* by the troops of the Lombard League (1176). His forces were routed and, for a while, it was believed that the emperor himself had been killed. He escaped with his life, but his army was wiped out and nothing remained for him but to treat with his enemies.

He first entered into negotiations with the Pope and concluded with him *the Peace of Venice* (1177). He consented to abandon the antipope and to recognize Alexander III as supreme pontiff and as independent ruler of the Papal States. The Pope, in return, freed him from excommunication and solemnly received him back into communion with the Church. With the Lombards the emperor concluded a six-year truce, which was followed by *the Peace of Constance* (1183). In this treaty he acknowledged the autonomy of the communes and granted them important rights of self-government, while they promised fealty to him and obligated themselves to certain services during his presence in Italy. Thus the self-governing cities were recognized as a political power beside Church and nobility. Nevertheless, as the alliance between Pope and cities was not maintained, Frederic was practically stronger in defeat than in war.

161. Frederic Barbarossa and Germany.—Although apparently absorbed by affairs in Italy, Frederic did not neglect

EUROPE
at the time of the
THIRD CRUSADE
1190
Crusade of Louis VII and Conrad III (1147-1149)
Crusade of Richard I, Philip II (Augustus) and Frederic I. (Barbarossa) (1189-1192)
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
Longitude West 5° from Greenwich
Longitude
East from
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
English Channel
IRELAND
KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
KINGDOM OF NORWAY
KINGDOM OF DENMARK
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
KINGDOM OF GERMANY
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
KINGDOM OF ARAGON
KINGDOM OF LEON
KINGDOM OF CASTILE
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
KINGDOM OF NAVARRE
KINGDOM OF SICILY
DOMINIONS OF THE ALMOHADS
CORSICA
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
MALTA
Richard's Fleet
Philip Augustus's Fleet
Aberdeen
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Limerick
Cloyne
Dublin
Waterford
Chester
York
Oxford
London
Hastings
Bruges
Southampton
Bremen
Utrecht
Hamburg
Stettin
Brunswick
Kalmar
Lund
Rugen
Ghent
Boulogne
Rouen
Paris
Orleans
Tours
Poitiers
Bourges
Clairvaux
Cologne
Treves
Mainz
Prague
Nuremberg
Ratisbon
Augsburg
Strasburg
Basel
Constance
Vienna
Wieselburg
Posen
Oder
Elbe
Rhine
Loire
Bordeaux
Limoges
Lyons
Geneva
Legnano
Turin
Milan
Alexandria
Genoa
Trent
Verona
Venice
Ravenna
Florence
Pisa
Zara
Spalato
Dalmatia
Croatia
Slavonia
Bosnia
Marseilles
Narbonne
Toulouse
Barcelona
Saragossa
Toledo
Valencia
Cordova
Murcia
Granada
Almeria
Malaga
Cadiz
Seville
Merida
Tagus
Guadiana
Lisbon
Oporto
Leon
Valladolid
Duero
Salamanca
Santiago de Compostella
Tangier
Gibraltar
Fez
Morocco
Oran
Algiers
Bona
Tunis
Cabes
Tripoli
Surt
Palermo
Messina
Reggio
Syracuse
Naples
Rome
Roma of ST. PETER
Bari
Brindisi
Tunsberg

DOMAINS OF
Hohenstaufen..
Guelf.....
Ascanians....
Hereditary domains are colored dark.
Feudal territories lighter.
Suzerainty in outline color.
Kiel
Lübeck
Lüneburg
DUCHY OF
Brunswick
SAXONY
MARGRAVATE OF BRANDENBURG
Brandenburg
Magdeburg
Anhalt
Elbe
Oder
Münster
Cologne
Aix-la-Chapelle
DUCHY OF
Frankfort
VOGTLAND
Prague
Mayence
FRANCONIA
Nuremberg
Waiblingen
Hohenstaufen
Danube
Strassburg
Ulm
Augsburg
Munich
DUCHY OF
BAVARIA
Vienna
DUCHY OF AUSTRIA, 1156
SWABIA
URI
Chiavenna
Lake Neva
Ladoga
NOVGOROD
VIATKA
Koksherev
Kostroma
Volga
Yaroslavl
Rostov
Suzdal
Kuma
Bulgarians
Novgorod
Russo
Pskov
Dorpat
Toropetz
Dmietrov
Moscow
Mordvins
Polotsk
Vitebsk
Riazan
Smolensk
Grodno
Minsk
Dragovitches
Dorogobusch
Pinsk
Severians
Kursk
Tchernigov
Vladimir
Lublin
Kiev
Sarub
Dnieper
Don
Volga
Halicz
Dniester
Cherson
Rostov
Khazars
Alans
Kassogs
CASPIAN SEA
TRANSYLVANIA
Orsova
Danube
Bulgarians
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
BLACK SEA
Inope
Trebizond
GEORGIA
Tiflis
Kars
DOM. OF
SHAH-ARMEN
Lake Van
Tabriz
AZERBIJAN
Atabeks
Thessalonica
Gallipoli
Nicomedia
Nice
Amasia
Angora
Caesarea
Kurdistan
Janina
Larissa
Pergamum
Philadelphia
Sardis
Iconium
Edessa
Mosul
Irbil
Tigris
Thebes
Smyrna
Sozopolis
Corinth
Athens
Ephesus
Laodicea
Attalia
ARMENIA
Aleppo
Antioch
Euphrates
CALIFATE
Bagdad
RHODES
Nicosia
Famagusta
Homs
Candia
KINGDOM OF CYPRUS
Limasol
Tripoli
Baalbec
Damascus
CRETE
Beirut
Tyre
Acre
Hattin
Basra
Persian Gulf
Philip Augustus
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Barca
Alexandria
Damietta
Cairo
ARABIA
EGYPT
Nile
RED SEA
Greenwich

the internal government of Germany. In Italy he met with defeat; in Germany his reign was successful and prosperous. His rout at Legnano was caused in part by the defection of his most powerful vassal, Henry the Lion. The latter, who was Duke of Bavaria and of Saxony, had on the eve of the battle refused to send the necessary reenforcements. On his return to Germany, the emperor repeatedly summoned him before a diet to answer the charges brought against him. As the rebellious duke ignored all imperial injunctions, he was condemned to exile, the loss of his fiefs and of his personal estates (1180). Frederic granted Bavaria to the House of Wittelsbach, which reigned there until 1918, and gave Saxony to Albert the Bear, who was already ruler of the March of Brandenburg. After a short resistance, Henry made his submission and asked for pardon. Some of his possessions were returned to him; but the duchies of Bavaria and Saxony were not restored and the sentence of banishment was maintained. The once powerful prince spent the remainder of his years in England.

Frederic not only destroyed the most powerful of the German princes, but also sternly repressed disorder in the country. He waged relentless war against the feudal robber-knights, capturing and destroying their castles. He afforded protection to the peasants, defended the traveller in his peaceful journeyings, and generally maintained order and peace. Some of the diets held during the reign surpassed in brilliancy anything of the kind that had yet been witnessed. The fact that they were attended not only by numerous imperial princes but also by foreign ambassadors sufficiently illustrates the power and influence of the great monarch.

162. Henry VI (1190–1197); **the Hohenstaufen and Lower Italy.**—Frederic Barbarossa had thought at an early date of adding Lower Italy to his dominions, but the checks which he met in the northern and central part of the penin-

sula made the conquest of the south impossible. However, the resourceful monarch did not consider himself defeated in the pursuit of his aims; what could not be obtained by conquest might be secured through marriage. His son, who succeeded him as Henry VI, had married *Constance*, the heiress to the Norman kingdom of Sicily. Henry, in spite of resistance to his authority, thus secured a legal title on which he based his claims. The possession of Lower Italy became, for a time, the question of paramount importance in European politics. Henry VI's ambitious schemes, however, did not stop there. He sought to dominate the whole Christian world, and was *the last emperor to attempt an effective control of all Christian nations*. His plans included the conquest of the Eastern Empire, of northern Africa, and of Palestine. His army of Crusaders, which was to conquer the Holy Land, had already put to sea when the youthful emperor died at the age of thirty-two.

163. Frederic II; His Character and Policy.—Not only had Henry VI made an attempt to establish a universal empire; he had also tried to transform Germany from an elective into a hereditary monarchy. His failure in the latter aim is evidenced by the fact that, at his death, a double election took place in which neither side chose Henry's three-year-old son Frederic for the kingship. The young prince was to come to the throne, however, after civil war had desolated Germany for several years.

Frederic II, as he is known in history, was one of the most extraordinary personages of the Middle Ages. German on his father's side, Norman-French on his mother's side, he received an Italo-Greek education and was also influenced by Mohammedan environment and associations. His personality made a deep impression on his contemporaries, because he radically differed from them in his sentiments, thoughts, actions, and life. He had a pronounced taste for the natural sciences, was indifferent and sceptical in religion, held intimate converse with Jewish and Arab physicians,

and numbered among his soldiers Mohammedan troops, for whom he built a mosque. He was a monarch of remarkable statesmanship, a politician of unusual cunning, a man of scandalous morals and, although a ward of Innocent III, a Catholic of doubtful belief.

His most striking characteristic was his self-conceit. He entertained an even more exaggerated idea of his exalted position than had his grandfather Barbarossa. In the empire, as planned by him, Italy, not Germany, was to be the leading state. In order freely to devote his time and strength to these southern dominions, he endeavored to establish and maintain peace in Germany. To this end he made concessions to the princes, both secular and ecclesiastical. So considerable were the privileges which he granted them that the secular lords became independent sovereigns and the German Church was freed from the excessive influence of the civil power.

In Italy Frederic II attached the greatest importance to the possession of Sicily. It was in this kingdom that he displayed the greatest activity as lawgiver and organizer. He transformed it from a feudal into a modern state, *i. e.*, instead of maintaining the organization in which the ruler depended on the good will of his vassals, he introduced an administration centralized in his hands and carried on by royal officials. He was, as it were, a benevolent despot who appointed to all positions, and to whom all persons in the government service were responsible. State officials were no longer rewarded with fiefs or estates, but received for their services a fixed salary.

164. Frederic II and the Papacy; Extinction of the Hohenstaufen Dynasty.—Their rivalry in Italy was bound to embroil papacy and empire in a new conflict. Frederic's first difficulty with the Holy See was caused by his delay in fulfilling the promise he had made to go on a crusade. As he postponed the expedition from year to year, Pope Gregory IX excommunicated him in 1227. Shortly afterwards,

Frederic, under the ban of the Church, went to the Holy Land, in spite of the Pope's expressed disapproval. On his return from the expedition a peace was indeed patched up between the two powers, but it was to be followed after several years by the bitterest conflict they had yet engaged in.

The struggle began openly with the second excommunication pronounced in 1239 against the emperor, who had repeatedly abused his power and infringed upon the rights of the Holy See. Characterized by extreme bitterness, this new conflict ended only with the extinction of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. While it was in progress no language seemed too strong to either side in its denunciation of the other. The Pope referred to the emperor as "the self-confessed heretic" and "the blasphemous beast of the Apocalypse;" while the latter saw in his opponent a slanderer, blasphemer, and insupportable tyrant. If the wordy exchanges were violent, the blows were of the heaviest. Frederic invaded the Papal States, and, when the Pope tried to hold a general council to decide the questions at issue, its meeting was prevented by the capture of numerous prelates by imperial troops. Later, however, such an assembly actually met at Lyons (1245), and not only decreed Frederic's deposition, but also forbade anyone to obey him under penalty of excommunication. The emperor, however, refused to acknowledge the sentence. As repeated attempts of St. Louis IX to mediate between the two sides were fruitless, the conflict had to be fought out to the bitter end.

In order to raise new troops the papacy had a Crusade preached against the emperor, and the latter on his part strained every nerve to maintain his position. The two sides fought with varying fortunes until 1250. In that year Frederic had just completed all his preparations for a decisive battle when death interposed. Before he breathed his last he received absolution from the Archbishop of Palermo. The war continued under his son Conrad IV (1250–1254) and his grandson Conradin, who succeeded him. It was

finally decided when the Pope conferred the crown of Sicily on the French prince, Charles of Anjou, a brother of St. Louis. Charles in 1268 defeated and captured Conradin. This last representative of the Hohenstaufen family was soon after sent to the scaffold at Naples. But the transfer of the Sicilian crown to the House of Anjou did not fulfill the hopes and expectations of the papacy. Charles and his successors proved worse enemies of the Church than the Hohenstaufen had been. The residence of the Popes at Avignon and the Great Western Schism were in no small measure caused by these new masters established in the kingdom of Sicily.

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CHAPTER XIV

FRANCE UNDER THE CAPETIAN DYNASTY FROM 987 TO 1270

165. Hugh Capet (987-996); The Condition of France and the Kingship at his Accession.—Glancing back briefly at the history of Charlemagne's reign and the disruption of his immense, but unwieldy, empire shortly after his death, the student can see in the Treaty of Verdun the birth of the French nation in the apportionment of West Frankland to Charles. It will be remembered, too, that the rule of the Carolingians was of short duration. With the election of Hugh Capet in 987 the French crown passed permanently to the Capetian dynasty, which wore it until 1328. All the kings of the new line, particularly the two most important of this period, Philip II Augustus (1180–1223) and Louis IX (1226–1270), worked with energy and determination at the great task of *unifying France.*

When Hugh Capet ascended the throne, the country was split up into numerous fiefs and the kingship, hereditary in the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties, again became elective. The existing territorial divisions and the dependence of the succession on elections constituted two great obstacles to the free exercise of the royal power. The fiefs were not only numerous, but also extensive, and their holders enjoyed an hereditary title. The dukes or counts were nominally subject to the royal authority, but were independent in practise. No royal officials resided on or visited their estates as in Charlemagne's time. The execution of the royal decrees was entirely contingent on the vassal's good will. The king governed and managed his fief and could control nothing more. He was at this time the least wealthy and least powerful of the great lords of France, his estates comprising only the city of Paris and the neighboring country.

Not only the lack of resources, but the elective character of the kingship also weakened Hugh Capet and his early suc-

cessors. Their family was constantly threatened with the loss of the royal dignity. In order to prevent such a contingency Hugh Capet caused, during his own lifetime, his son to be elected and anointed king. This example was imitated for two centuries by the Capetian kings: the election and coronation of the successor preceded the actual ruler's death. It was only in the time of Philip Augustus that this precautionary measure was abandoned, because the consolidation of the royal power had rendered it unnecessary.

166. King Louis VII (1137–1180); Eleanor of Aquitaine; Beginning of the Rivalry between the Capetians and the Plantagenets.—Under Louis VII, the power of the French kings received an enormous, but only temporary increase. Louis had married one of the wealthiest heiresses of the kingdom, Eleanor of Aquitaine, whose estates included all southwestern France. He had thus become the greatest landowner of the kingdom. The queen, however, was less virtuous than she was wealthy. Her misconduct during the second crusade, on which she accompanied her husband, was notorious, and serious disagreements marred the relations between her and her husband. A reconciliation was effected between them by Pope Eugene III, who not only confirmed anew their union, but under pain of excommunication forbade its dissolution, on the ground of blood relationship or any cause whatever. The prohibition was little heeded, however, by the French bishops, who shortly after annulled the marriage in one of their councils (1152). Their action was never sanctioned by the highest ecclesiastical authority, but it had nevertheless important political results.

Eleanor separated from Louis VII, took her immense estates with her and married forthwith one of her former husband's vassals, Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Anjou. As the latter was lord, in his own right, of all northwestern France, including Normandy, he became, by his union with Eleanor, master of the whole French seacoast from the mouth of the Seine to Spain and held territory about eight

lost to the Plantagenets (1204). Shortly afterwards, a similar fate overtook their remaining French dominions with the exception of Aquitaine, and in 1208 John Lackland concluded peace with his successful opponent.

168. Coalition against Philip Augustus; the Battle of Bouvines (1214).—In 1214 John Lackland resumed the struggle against Philip Augustus; but, before throwing down the gauntlet, he secured powerful allies. French power had grown not only at John's expense, it was also a danger to the countries situated to the north of France, and seemed to constitute a menace to the empire itself. A coalition—the first European coalition—was now organized against the King of France. It included, besides England, the Count of Flanders, the lords of Belgium and Lorraine, and the Emperor Otto IV. The dominions of Philip Augustus were attacked on two sides—in the south and in the north.

In the south John led his forces against the French and was signally defeated (1214). In the north the opposing armies met at Bouvines in Flanders. The action ended in a brilliant French success. The victory was hailed with enthusiasm in France and represents, as it were, the first French national triumph. It had several important consequences: in Germany it resulted in the downfall of Otto IV; in England it helped to bring about the rebellion of the barons against the king; in France it insured peace until Philip Augustus' death in 1223.

169. The Crusade against the Albigenses and the Growth of the Royal Power in the South of France.—While the king was fighting at Bouvines, Simon of Montfort and his crusaders were unwittingly battling for him in the south. In the county of Toulouse, certain heretics, who from the city of *Albi* have been called *Albigenses*, had made their appearance in large numbers. Their teaching was based on a belief in two gods, creators of the universe. The one, good, created the spirits; the other, evil, produced matter. As the Albigenses considered all matter essentially evil,

they were led to assert that man is a living contradiction; his soul is divine; his body, because material, is evil and a source of evil. The liberation of the soul from its captivity in the body is the end of our being. The sooner it occurs, the better for man. To hasten this deliverance is not only permissible, but commendable. Conformably to these principles, these heretics taught and practised suicide.

Such errors were not only destructive of the faith of the Church, but they also undermined the very existence of the state. They had spread so widely in southern France in the twelfth century that over 1,000 cities or towns were infected by them. As persuasion failed to bring back the heretics to the fold, Pope Innocent III decided to use force. He called repeatedly on Philip Augustus, the suzerain of the heretical Count of Toulouse, to undertake a Crusade against the Albigenses and their supporters. As the king remained deaf to these appeals, Simon of Montfort was put at the head of the Crusade and conquered the heretics. He was assisted after some time by troops sent by the King of France. The power of the Counts of Toulouse was destroyed. After Simon of Montfort's death, his successor felt too weak successfully to defend the conquered territory. He ceded the County of Toulouse to the House of France, in whose possession it permanently remained from 1224 onward.

The two great results of Philip Augustus' reign were thus achieved, viz., the conquest of a large part of the Plantagenet dominions and the acquisition of the important County of Toulouse. The royal power, formerly confined to the interior, had now access to the English Channel, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean.

170. Louis IX, The Saint, (1226–1270); **His Character.**— Philip Augustus' successors, Louis VIII (1223–1226) and Louis IX (1226–1270), continued his work of unification and consolidation. The former made additional conquests at the expense of the English kings. At his premature death, the crown passed to his eleven-year-old son Louis IX.

Blanche of Castile, the boy's mother, became regent and ruled with prudence and firmness for several years. As the foreign princes had leagued against Philip II to destroy the growing power of France, so the French lords now banded together to check the constantly increasing strength of the Capetian dynasty. The government, exercised by a woman, seeming to them hardly capable of successful resistance, they organized an internal coalition. In spite of their union and the apparently favorable circumstances, they were defeated by the skill and energy of Blanche of Castile.

At the age of twenty, Louis IX, one of the purest glories of France and most attractive personalities of the Middle Ages, began his personal rule. He was tall, handsome, and well proportioned, of keen eye and dignified bearing. His features were so attractive that a chronicler could describe his face as angelic in comeliness. His ready wit, playful humor, and simple and unrestrained intercourse with high and low endeared him to all those who came in touch with him. Although he was not a great military leader, his bravery, calm and unsurpassed in perilous situations, forced the admiration even of his enemies. In his moral conduct he was ever mindful of the impressive words frequently addressed to him by his mother in his early years: "I would rather see you dead at my feet than guilty of a mortal sin."

In his private life he was most careful in the recitation of prayers and in the observance of religious practises. His fasts and mortifications were beyond all ordinary measure, and his attendance at divine service, even at the midnight office, was most assiduous. His love for the poor and lowly was evidenced by his daily feeding of the hungry at his table and by his ministrations to repulsive cripples. In public affairs he was ever guided by the Christian principles of equity and justice. As a ruler he looked upon himself as the father of his people, the monarch whose sacred duty it was to defend the rights of every subject and to enforce the observance of both ecclesiastical and civil law. He himself gave the example of strict justice in dealing with

his fellow-men, furnishing us with the unique instance in history where a ruler, obeying the dictates of his conscience, restored territories previously conquered from an enemy.

His merits were so generally recognized abroad that he was selected as arbiter between the English king and his barons, and between the Pope and the emperor. During his reign France occupied in Europe a position of preeminence due not only to the large territory effectively controlled by its ruler, but also to the king's well-merited reputation for sane judgment and unrivalled fairness. Twenty-seven years after his death he was admitted by the Catholic Church among her canonized Saints, and subsequent generations of all beliefs have honored in him the purest ideal of a true knight and Christian king.

171. Louis IX's Foreign Policy.—Louis IX's relations with foreign powers were shaped in accordance with the great aim which he ever kept in view, the organization of a Crusade. His constant endeavor was to bring about such conditions in Europe as would facilitate the undertaking of such an expedition. During an illness which threatened to carry him off, he had promised to take the Cross if he recovered. He wished to see other Christian princes cooperate in the reconquest of the Holy Land. This lofty purpose and his natural desire to see justice and law prevail everywhere prompted him to seek to restore and maintain peace among his neighbors.

Like his predecessors he worked with energy and success at the firm establishment of the royal power in southern France. But he obtained his end more through treaties and matrimonial alliances than military expeditions. In the war which he waged against Henry III of England he emerged victorious and forced his opponent to conclude an armistice. Preferring to be a just monarch rather than an illustrious conqueror, he transformed some years later this agreement into a definitive peace, in which he restored freely to Henry, for the sole love of peace and justice, the provinces conquered by his father, Louis VIII.

172. His Home Policy.—At home, St. Louis strove to give his subjects a good administration, to render strict justice, and to preserve internal peace. The expansion of the monarchy had rendered necessary the enlargement of the royal administrative system. In the organization of the state as perfected during his reign, the king remains the centre of affairs. He uses gradually more and more, as his assistants in the government, the numerous officials of the royal household. Some of these are placed at the head of the different provinces and others become itinerant judges, an institution of Charlemagne's time which again acquires importance. The Royal Council is divided into three different sections, viz., *the Great Council*, which is a political and administrative body; *the Parliament*, which is a court of justice; *the Council of Accounts*, which collects and manages the royal revenue. The officials, frequently identical, of the three sections still follow the king in his numerous wanderings, although the Parliament little by little settles down in the capital and becomes the famous Parliament of Paris.

The king abolished private warfare in so far as this was possible. He defended the privileges of the barons, but protected no less the rights of their dependents, and insisted on the faithful performance of their respective duties by both classes. He issued severe laws against blasphemers, and, animated by a strong hatred of usury, he dealt most rigorously with the Jews and Lombards, the money lenders of those days.

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CHAPTER XV

ENGLAND FROM 800 TO 1270

I. England from 800 to 1154; Anglo-Saxon, Danish and Norman Kings

173. Egbert unites under his Rule the Seven Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms (827).—The rulers of the Seven Kingdoms established by the Anglo-Saxons were independent of one another. At times, however, one among them succeeded in exercising a preponderating influence, a sort of supreme control over the others. He was known as Bretwalda. The best known of the early kings who attained to such leadership was King Egbert of Wessex. He had at first been driven from his country by internal wars and had sought refuge at the court of Charlemagne. In the year 800 he returned from exile enriched by political experience and strengthened by an alliance with the great emperor. Wars in which he engaged with the other kingdoms ended to his advantage and placed him in 827 at the head of the Heptarchy. Not content with these successes, he attacked the inveterate enemy of the Saxons, the Britons of Cornwall, defeated them and subjugated their country. After a glorious reign he died in 836. About this very time, the Danes began their invasions, and the West Saxons, instead of continuing their conquests, were forced to organize for the defense of their own country.

174. The Danish Invasions; King Alfred the Great (871–901).—The Northmen or Danes assailed not only the Frankish empire, they also extended their depredations to England and Ireland. In their attacks upon England, they were at times in alliance or friendly cooperation with the Britons; they are even said to have been invited to the island by the Celts of Cornwall. Their first incursions were mere raids. They would land in a district and ravage it,

carrying off everything they found suitable to their needs or pleasing to their fancy. Then reembarking, they would sail for home and pass the winter living on these supplies.

This period of raids was followed by attempts to make permanent settlements. Ethelwulf (836–857), Egbert's son and successor, defeated them several times, but they constantly renewed their attacks. After his death, he was succeeded, in turn, by his four sons. The first three lost their lives in fighting the Danes. The fourth, Alfred, was destined to check their power. He came to the throne at the age of twenty-two and ruled for thirty years (871–901).

Although he was not endowed with brilliant qualities, his practical sense, intelligent management of affairs, and success in the government of his kingdom, have justly earned for him the title of the Great. The Danes had established themselves permanently in England when he began to rule and were extending their conquests. He bought peace for Wessex by agreeing to pay a sum of money to the invaders. Left unmolested for a few years, he profited by this breathing spell to create a navy and to organize an army. When the war was resumed, he was prepared to meet the Danes in the field. Although his forces were numerically inferior, he succeeded in defeating the marauders and concluded the peace of *Wedmore* in 878. The treaty was not to Alfred's exclusive advantage; it was a compromise rather than a one-sided arrangement, containing the best conditions the king could make at the time. The instrument divided England into two parts, one of which was to be ruled by Alfred, the other by the King of the Danes. The dividing line was marked by the famous Watling Street, which ran from London northwest to Chester. The territory southwest of this line was to be English; the rest was acknowledged as Danish possession. This latter portion became known as Danelaw or land of the Danes.

The treaty of Wedmore brought peace to Wessex for fifteen years. A new war lasting for three years then followed,

the Danes having renewed their attempts to make settlements in Alfred's kingdom. They were again worsted in battle, and the king could die quietly in 901 in the knowledge that the frontier of his kingdom was securely established.

175. Alfred the Great and Anglo-Saxon Civilization.—The defense of his realm did not absorb all the energy of King Alfred, who, in many respects, reminds the student of Charlemagne. Letters and studies were, owing to his encouragement and example, again held in honor during the reign. He learned to read late in life, but, once in possession of this knowledge, he was most assiduous in his studies and even became a writer of note. He established a school in his palace and attracted foreign scholars to his court. He desired that all freemen in his kingdom should learn to read English and wished all those destined to the clerical state to know Latin also.

As an author, Alfred was not very original, but published important translations which he interspersed with his personal views and observations on various subjects. He rendered into English Boëthius' *Consolations of Philosophy;* Orosius' *Universal History;* Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Rule.* A written collection of the laws of the Angles and Saxons was prepared at his instance. He is rightly considered the founder of English prose and the originator of an important collection of national laws.

176. England passes under Danish Rule; Canute the Great (1016–1035).—Under King Alfred's successors the conflict with the Danes continued; the invaders were held in check until toward the end of the tenth century. During the long and unhappy reign of Ethelred the Unready (979–1016), the lack of sympathy between this king and his people afforded them more promising chances of success. Ethelred casting about, after several years of war, for new means of defense, decided to admit Danish troops into his service as mercenaries. He had hardly taken this step

when, struck with sudden fear that these former enemies were plotting against him, he issued orders to his officers in the counties and towns where they were stationed to kill them all on a stated day. The date set for this massacre was November 13, 1002. The king's order was faithfully carried out, and the mercenaries were slain amidst revolting barbarities.

This cruel measure, instead of benefitting Ethelred's cause, only intensified the hatred between the two races and caused the war to be resumed with greater fierceness. The King of Denmark, Sweyn, whose sister had perished in the massacre, resolved to avenge her death. In 1003 he landed in England with a large force. The struggle which now commenced was to lead to the establishment of Danish power over all England. Ethelred, constantly harassed by the enemy and despairing of his cause, fled to France, but as Sweyn died shortly afterward, he returned, reascended the throne, and succeeded even in reconquering his kingdom. It was now the turn of Canute, Sweyn's son and successor, to take refuge in Denmark. There he collected a new force and reappeared in England as Ethelred was lying on his deathbed. After the latter's demise, his son Edmund and the invader Canute fought for the crown. The contest remaining undecided, they agreed to a division of the country. The treaty, however, was followed almost immediately by Edmund's death, and Canute became sole ruler of the entire kingdom (1016).

After committing a series of political murders to consolidate his power, Canute gave England one of the most beneficent reigns it ever enjoyed. He preserved the existing Anglo-Saxon institutions and relied in his administration on Saxon and Danish officials. He established security, maintained order, impartially enforced the laws, and protected the Church. He was no less successful in his external policy than popular in his internal administration. He renewed the alliance of England with Normandy by his marriage

with Emma, the daughter of the Duke of Normandy and the widow of Ethelred. His brother's death (1018) made him King of Denmark, conquest added Norway to his dominions, Sweden is said to have acknowledged his supremacy, and Scotland was invaded and reduced to the condition of a vassal state. Canute thus established in northern Europe a vast empire which, however, was not destined to enjoy any permanency. At his death in 1035 it split up into various parts. His two sons quarrelled over his English possessions and, to reestablish peace, the kingdom was again divided between them. These two rulers followed Canute to the grave in rapid succession, and without having to contend with dynastic rival or popular opposition, the Anglo-Saxon Edward, son of Ethelred and Emma, became king of all England in 1042.

177. Edward the Confessor (1042–1066); **the Battle of Hastings** (1066), **William the Conqueror and the Beginning of the Norman Dynasty.**—King Edward, surnamed the *Confessor* owing to his piety, did not possess the qualifications of a firm ruler, and instead of wielding the authority himself, he left the government of his kingdom to Earl Godwin, a powerful nobleman, who, when he himself died, passed the reigns of government to his own son Harold. Edward not only did not exercise any personal rule, but had neither children nor relatives to succeed him. These facts explain why it is that before his death he should have, as it is declared, disposed of his kingdom in favor of two different men: William, Duke of Normandy, and Harold, son and successor of Godwin. At any rate, whether Edward was guilty of such double dealing or not, the two claimants came forward at his death, William basing his right to the throne on the alleged fact that Edward had bestowed the succession upon him, on the occasion of a visit which he had made to England some time before the king's demise, and Harold chiefly on the fact of possession but also on the deathbed declaration of Edward. Harold was elected and crowned

immediately upon Edward's death. William of Normandy, however, strong and masterful as he was, did not renounce what he claimed to be his rights to the English crown. He succeeded in winning the Pope over to his side by promising to enforce in England that authority of the Holy See which had recently been disregarded, notably by the deposition of the lawful Archbishop of Canterbury. The Pope sent the duke a banner and blessed in advance the expedition which he was contemplating. William collected an army, fitted out a fleet, and put across the Channel. Hearing of the landing of the Normans while he was in the north repelling a Norwegian invasion, Harold hurried southward to meet the new enemy and ordered his army to take up a strong defensive position at *Senlac* or *Hastings*. It was here that in 1066 the battle was fought which decided in a few hours England's destiny and placed William of Normandy, subsequently honored with the title of the Conqueror, on the English throne.

The Normans prepared for battle by fasting and prayer; the English spent the night in drinking and revelry. The following morning the Normans launched their attack against the hill on which their opponents were entrenched. At first their onslaughts could make no headway in face of the strong resistance they encountered. Their resourceful leader, seeing that progress was impossible by this method of attack, ordered part of his army to discharge its arrows, turn and feign flight. The stratagem succeeded. The English left their well-protected positions to pursue the fleeing enemy. The Normans suddenly faced around, turned on them, threw them into confusion, and defeated them. Harold himself was struck in the eye by an arrow and fell lifeless to the ground. The English king and the English army were destroyed, and a single battle delivered up the whole kingdom into William's hands. He was chosen and crowned king on Christmas Day (1066).

178. William the Conqueror's Rule in England.—William's

aim was to be absolute master of the kingdom which he had conquered. All thought of resistance to his authority, however, was not given up by the inhabitants after his coronation. Several insurrections broke out, but the wily Norman always managed to keep his enemies separated and to defeat them in succession. So successful was he in the suppression of these conspiracies that even the King of Scotland, Malcolm II, who had made common cause with his enemies, was forced to recognize William's overlordship.

Desirous of establishing his rule securely, the Conqueror did not treat the English as a whole as a conquered race, but was satisfied with confiscating the estates of Englishmen who had opposed him and conferring these lands on his supporters. Moreover, partly to win their friendship, he studied English and became fairly proficient in it, although it must also be admitted that the English language acquired at this time many French words and phrases owing to the restrictions which he imposed on its use. But neither did he allow the Norman barons to acquire power which might be dangerous to the kingship. No vast single estate was granted to any of them, but they received lands lying scattered in various parts of the country. A list of these possessions with their taxable value was drawn up with the minutest care in a register which is known as the *Domesday Book*, because it contained a detailed account similar to that which will be exacted at the last judgment. Realizing the precarious position of kings to whom only the highest feudatories swore allegiance, William exacted an oath of fidelity taken to him personally from all lords and vassals in his kingdom. He appointed Normans to the high positions in the Church, but insisted on rigid observance of Church laws and the strict performance of their duties by the clergy.

179. The Norman Kings after William the Conqueror (1087–1154).—During William the Conqueror's reign, England, owing to its union with Normandy, was a strong continental power. The union was to come to an end with

the Conqueror's death, for he divided his possessions among his sons. The mode of succession to the English throne had not yet been definitely settled, and it was not William's eldest, but his second, son who secured the crown, as his father considered the latter better qualified to control a newly conquered kingdom. The succession, in this case, gave rise to no difficulty, but in some other instances serious dissensions broke out among Norman claimants to the throne. The successors of William the Conqueror ruled, as he had done, with a strong hand and were frequently despotic in their measures.[1] Their absolute policy brought them into conflict, on the one hand, with the clergy and, on the other, with both the Norman and the English nobility. The relations between rulers and clergy are illustrated by the protracted struggle which St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1109), waged for the liberties of the Church against two kings of this line. The despotic dealings of the monarchs with their subjects united Normans and Englishmen in a common resistance to the royal power.

In so far as the administrative system is concerned, the *Curia Regis*, or King's Council, was perfected in its organization in Norman times. This council was composed of the prominent members of nobility and clergy. It was originally a political institution. To its political attributions were added in the twelfth century the administrative functions of rendering justice and of managing the royal finances. When the council dealt with questions regarding the public revenue it assumed the special name of Exchequer, a term still in use to designate the Royal Treasury.

II. England from 1154 to 1270

180. Accession of Henry II (1154–1189); **Thomas Becket Chancellor of the Kingdom.**—Before his death, Stephen, the last Norman king, adopted as his son and heir Henry, the

[1] His Norman successors were: William II, Rufus (1087–1100); Henry I (1100–1135); Stephen (1135–1154).

son of Matilda, a granddaughter of William the Conqueror. When the succession was thus settled in his favor, Henry, surnamed Plantagenet, had already received from his parents large dominions in northern France and had come into possession, by his marriage with Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis VII, of the magnificent dowry of the duchy of Aquitaine (1152). He thus controlled almost half of France when in 1154 he became King of England and was crowned as Henry II at Winchester. He was a youth of twenty-one, extremely active in body and mind, determined and anxious to assert the authority of the king and to enforce obedience to the law. So restless was his temperament that, even during his attendance at Mass, heedless of the respect due to the holy sacrifice, he busied himself either with drawing pictures or whispering to his neighbor. He quickly reduced to submission the rebels who resisted him and even regained some territory in the north from the King of Scotland.

The most important appointment made by the new king was that of Thomas Becket to the chancellorship of the kingdom. Born at London of Norman parents, Thomas had entered the clerical state and the service of the Archbishop of Canterbury. A man of wholehearted devotion and extraordinary singleness of purpose, he served indeed several masters, but served them in succession: first his archbishop, then his king, and finally God. He had rendered excellent services to the first-mentioned when he was chosen chancellor by Henry II. In this high office he exhibited great love of worldliness and display, but was not tainted by corruption. The magnificence and splendor with which he surrounded himself were so remarkable that, at his appearance on an important mission at Paris, some of the inhabitants who saw him were heard to exclaim: "What manner of man must the King of England be, when his chancellor travels in such state!" As chancellor, he most loyally defended the king's rights and upheld his cause even against the Church, as when he justified the collection of scutage or tax from her

hitherto untaxed estates. Henry looked upon him as an official after his own heart and thought of placing him at the head of the clergy, which he intended to bring under more strict state control. He offered to him the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Thomas, foreseeing that he could not accept such a position and retain the king's friendship, remarked: "An Archbishop of Canterbury must either offend God or the king." Henry, nevertheless, insisted on his acceptance of the new dignity, and Thomas, who had as yet received only deacon's orders, was raised to the priesthood and consecrated archbishop (1162).

181. Archbishop Thomas Becket and Henry II.—A complete transformation took place in the life of this chancellor become archbishop. The once worldly and powerful lord was suddenly changed into an austere and conscientious churchman. He cast aside all luxury and magnificence and exclusively devoted his time to prayer, study, and good works. He handed in his resignation as chancellor and thereby incurred the royal displeasure. The king's discontent increased when, in 1163, the archbishop refused to sanction the levying of the Danegeld, a tax introduced during the Danish invasion, on the property of the clergy. It was the first time that such a contribution was refused and the last that an attempt was made at collecting it.

The most serious collision between king and prelate came on a question respecting the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts. Henry II, contemplating a more complete control of all affairs, resolved on subjecting the clergy to civil tribunals. So far they had enjoyed the right of being tried by their own ecclesiastical courts, in which the proceedings were less cruel and the punishments less barbarous. Thomas Becket strenuously upheld this right and, in maintaining the privileges of his order, defended at the same time human dignity against Henry II's despotic instincts. When the latter demanded that a cleric, after being convicted by an ecclesiastical tribunal, should appear before a civil court,

Thomas rightly contended that a man should not be punished twice for the same offense. The prelate maintained his unyielding attitude in face of an appeal to the ancient customs of the realm. According to him ecclesiastical law, in case of conflict between the two, ought to be obeyed in preference to civil law.

182. The Constitutions of Clarendon (1164).—While the controversy was in progress the royal court assembled at Clarendon, a small village near Salisbury. There, heeding the expostulations of the other bishops and shaken by threats of death, Thomas yielded to the king and promised to respect the customs of the realm. These customs, so far indefinite and unwritten, were at once reduced to writing, and have since become known as the *Constitutions of Clarendon*.

Among other things, they stated the following: Clerics accused of any offense were to appear before the ecclesiastical court and royal tribunal; if they confessed or were convicted, the Church was to abandon them to the secular arm. Appeals in Church matters were to be taken first to the archdeacon, then to the bishop, finally to the archbishop. No recourse to higher authority such as the Pope was to be allowed. The archbishops and bishops were, like all the king's direct vassals, to obey the royal officials and to fulfill all the obligations of fief-holding. They might not leave the kingdom without obtaining royal permission and taking an oath that they would refrain from all injury to king and kingdom.

While it may be questioned whether these constitutions reproduced the ancient customs of England, it is certain that they infringed on the existing rights of the Church and threatened its liberty for the future. Thomas Becket refused to accept them, left Clarendon, and went to Winchester, where, in penitential garb, he atoned for the fault of having momentarily yielded to pressure and to the king's demands.

183. Flight, Return, and Martyrdom of Thomas Becket.—The king put forth every effort to force the recalcitrant pre-

late to submission. The latter, perceiving that every available means was being used to ruin him, fled in disguise to France and appealed to the Pope. The reigning pontiff, Alexander III, was then engaged in his fierce quarrel with Frederic Barbarossa and could give but little support to the fugitive prelate. Thomas nevertheless remained steadfast in his defense of the liberties of the English Church.

Henry II, finding himself after a while involved in considerable difficulties and at war with France, proceeded to the continent and was outwardly reconciled with the archbishop. Thomas returned to England, where he was received in triumph. In the meantime his enemies were not idle. They depicted to Henry the distracted state of his kingdom, ascribing it to the intractable character of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry burst into a violent passion: "What a parcel of fools and cowards," he exclaimed, "have I nourished in my house that none of them can be found to avenge me on an upstart priest." Four knights, on hearing the king's words, at once left the royal court and went to Canterbury. They sought out the archbishop and asked him to leave the kingdom. Upon his refusal and after an exchange of angry words, they withdrew to arm themselves. When they returned the prelate had taken refuge in the cathedral. They invaded it, crying, "Where is the traitor!" "Behold me," replied Thomas, "no traitor, but a priest of God." The assailants rushed forward to lay hands upon him; he at first attempted resistance but, seeing the futility of it, knelt before his murderers, was struck down, and died a martyr's death on December 29, 1170.

184. Results of the Murder.—A cry of horror went up throughout the world at the news that the Archbishop of Canterbury had been slain in his cathedral. The popular indignation in England was caused not only by the revolting character of the crime, but also by the view that the defender of right and protector of the poor had been struck down.

As for Henry II himself, far from rejoicing at being rid of

a troublesome opponent, he gave himself up to despair at the thought of the impending consequences. The Pope declared his intention of excommunicating him and laying the kingdom under an interdict. It was only with difficulty that Henry's envoys succeeded in staying the execution of this plan. When, after considerable delay, the king felt confident enough to meet the papal legates, he swore that he had not desired the prelate's death, promised to contribute towards the defense of the Holy Land and to go on a Crusade, and revoked the Constitutions of Clarendon. He thus succeeded in mollifying the papacy, but the difficulties in which he became involved in consequence of the archbishop's assassination led to an insurrection of some of the barons against him. His wife Eleanor and eldest son Henry made common cause with his enemies, who were also joined by the Kings of France and Scotland. His position was critical, but he was at his best in time of danger. He proceeded in person to France and defeated his adversaries there. Immediately returning to England, he went as a penitent to Canterbury, knelt piously in prayer at the tomb of Thomas Becket, and submitted to a scourging at the hands of the monks. On that very day his ministers won the battle of Alnwick in which the Scottish army was wiped out and its king, William the Lion, captured (1174). The conspiracy, apparently so formidable at the beginning, thus ended, through Henry's energetic action, in miserable failure.

185. Ireland before Henry II's Reign.—An event of Henry II's reign which was more important in its later consequences than in its contemporary significance was the partial conquest of Ireland which he accomplished. Ireland, after its conversion by St. Patrick, had gradually become one of the chief centres of medieval culture and Catholic civilization. Its monasteries flourished, its schools were held in high esteem, its saints were legion and its missionaries preached the Gospel and introduced reform in many districts of continental Europe. The island had remained free from

the Teutonic invasions and had prospered under conditions of security and peace which were not enjoyed elsewhere.

The Teutonic invaders had advanced chiefly by land, and the sea had formed a secure natural protection for the Emerald Isle. Toward the end of the eighth century, new barbarians, the Northmen or Danes, advancing chiefly by sea, carried their devastation also to Ireland. Here, as everywhere else, they burned the monasteries, destroyed the churches, massacred the inhabitants and pillaged the country. They established themselves chiefly on the coast, but creeping up the rivers they effected permanent settlements as far inland as Waterford and Limerick. Despite this foreign danger, the Irish chiefs did not unite against the common enemy, and it was only when a man of strong energy and remarkable talent, *Brian Boru*, assumed the leadership and directed the resistance that the Danes were decisively defeated at the battle of *Clontarf* near Dublin in 1014 and permanently driven from the island.

186. Partial Conquest of Ireland by Henry II (1171).—The Danish invasions, far from furthering political development, had but increased disorder in Ireland. The tribal system and its accompanying evil, private warfare, continued to prevail, and the country had made no progress toward national unity when Henry II came to the English throne in 1154. That very year, Adrian IV, the only English Pope, had ascended the throne of Peter. As civil discord had impeded seriously the progress of the Church the Popes had been considering for some time the organization of a stronger rule in Ireland. The English kings had established order and security in their own country and were, perhaps for that reason, looked upon as capable of performing the same service for Ireland. As, according to general belief, the suzerainty over all the western islands belonged to the Pope, Adrian IV in 1155 most probably, granted Ireland to Henry II, a grant which was subsequently confirmed by Alexander III. The donation was undoubtedly

inspired not by national sentiment, but by religious motives. Adrian granted Henry permission to invade Ireland, not as an Englishman favoring an English king, but as supreme pontiff desiring to promote religious interests.

Henry II, owing to the opposition of his mother and to domestic difficulties, did not make use, during Adrian's lifetime, of the papal grant. Shortly after the murder of Thomas Becket, however, he led from selfish motives an expedition to Ireland. The opportune undertaking had the merit of placing a safer distance between a guilty king and a wrathful Pope and also of putting Henry in a position to claim that he had sought to atone for the crime by serving the cause of religion. Moreover, the expedition would weaken the growing power of the Anglo-Norman lords who had indeed invaded Ireland with Henry's permission but whose continued success seemed to threaten danger to himself. Henry landed at Waterford in 1171 and proceeded to Dublin, where he received the submission of most of the Irish chiefs. His visit did not benefit, but only harmed Ireland. Instead of establishing greater unity and security, it introduced a new source of division and opened for the island that sad period in its history during which the English would neither rule Ireland, nor permit the Irish to rule themselves.

187. Henry II's Last Years and Death (1189).—Henry's last years were filled with great sorrows and keen disappointment. He had divided, during his lifetime, his French dominions among his sons, but had not provided for the youngest of them, John, who from this circumstance was surnamed *Lackland*. Family discord, be it remarked, was the characteristic evil from which the Angevin dynasty suffered throughout its history, and this scheme of Henry's far from abating the evil, rather tended to increase the domestic feuds, for the sons rebelled against their father and likewise quarrelled among themselves. One of Henry's sons was so fully conscious of the family trait that he wrote to his father the distressing words: "Dost thou not know

that it is our proper nature, planted in us by inheritance from our ancestors, that none of us should love the other, but that ever brother should strive with brother, and son against father?" Nevertheless, Henry II greatly loved his children and deeply felt their quarrel with him and their loss by death. In 1183 his eldest son Henry rose in rebellion, but died that same year; three years later another son was removed by a sudden death.

To these personal sorrows was soon added the tragic news of the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187. The event caused general consternation in the west and Henry II and his son Richard swore to take the Cross. The king, however, owing to a war which Philip Augustus of France and Richard began against him, was unable to fulfill his pledge. Worn out by illness and aggrieved at Richard's conduct, Henry concluded peace by accepting all the conditions of his opponents, asking only for a list of his own vassals who had fought against him. The first name mentioned was that of his favorite son John. On hearing it, the unfortunate king turned his face to the wall, crying: "Let things go now as they will; I care no more for myself or for the world." He did not long survive the shock, but expired a few days later after a worthy confession and a devout reception of the last sacraments (1189).

188. Richard the Lion-Hearted (1189–1199).—Richard succeeded to all his father's dominions. Although born in England, he was educated in France and was little acquainted with affairs in the island kingdom. He appeared in it only twice, remaining in both instances for a short time: several months after his coronation at Westminster in 1190, and several weeks after his return from captivity in Germany.

He was a brilliant soldier, but lacked the qualities of a statesman. His extraordinary muscular strength was matched by most daring bravery, but prudence and foresight were conspicuous by their absence. Very fond of adventure and war, he spent his life accordingly. From 1190 to 1192 he

was on a Crusade and from 1194 to 1199 waged war with France. Such expeditions could be carried on only at great expense, and Richard's incessant demands for money kept the absent king before the mind of his people. Although in war he was more than a match for Philip Augustus, he could effect but little, as death interposed. When he felt that his end was at hand, he had his brother John recognized as his successor.

189. John Lackland (1199–1216); **His Character.**—"Foul as it is, hell itself is defiled by the fouler presence of John," are the terrible words in which a contemporary has expressed his opinion of Henry II's youngest son. A more severe verdict could not be pronounced against a man, but neither would it be easy to exaggerate John Lackland's wickedness. He was inhumanly cruel and despotic, shamelessly immoral and faithless to the most solemn obligations. He possessed, however, the political ability of the Angevin kings, was determined and even obstinate in the pursuit of an aim, and exhibited great shrewdness in extricating himself from an ostensibly desperate situation. The history of his reign is a record of three great conflicts: one with France in which John lost all his French possessions north of the Loire; a second with the Church which resulted in his becoming the Pope's vassal; and a third with the barons who forced him to sign the Great Charter.

190. John's Quarrel with Philip II of France.—This topic has been treated under that ruler's reign. (See Nos. 167 and 168.)

191. John's Quarrel with the Church.—In 1205 the see of Canterbury became vacant. The monks of the local monastery of Christchurch enjoyed the right to elect a new archbishop, the Crown also claimed a voice in the appointment, while the bishops of the province held that they too should be heard. The vacancy had no sooner occurred than the younger and lesser element among the monks chose a new incumbent and dispatched him to Rome to solicit papal

confirmation. The king and provincial bishops appealed to the Holy See against this proceeding. The king went further and nominated and installed another candidate in office. Pope Innocent III, after long and careful consideration, reaffirmed the monks' right of election. He refused, however, to confirm either their or the king's candidate, contending that, in one case, the election had been irregular and, in the other, the nomination made while the appeal was pending. At the Pope's instance, Stephen Langton, a man no less remarkable for his learning than his holiness, was elected by the representatives of the monks who, invested with full powers, were then present at Rome. King John refused to recognize Stephen and confiscated the property of the archbishopric. The Pope laid England under an interdict, *i. e.*, forbade the holding of public church services in the country. John scoffed at this measure and decreed severe penalties against clergymen conforming to it. During five years the conflict waxed fiercer and fiercer. In 1213 Innocent pronounced John's deposition and called on Philip Augustus to take possession of his kingdom. The French king was collecting an army for an invasion of England when John, realizing the gravity of the situation, made his peace with Rome. He resigned his crown into the Pope's hands, and received it back as a vassal; he promised also to pay a yearly tribute of 1,000 marks to the Holy See, to recognize Stephen Langton as archbishop, and to make reparation for the damages he had caused to the Church. On these conditions he and his kingdom were restored to communion with Rome.

192. John's Quarrels with the Barons.—John's unbearable tyranny had already aroused strong opposition when in 1213 he formed the plan of reconquering his lost French dominions. He called upon the nobility to follow him to France, but the summons was disregarded by the barons of the north, who held that their feudal obligations did not include service abroad. They likewise refused to pay scutage for the exemption from this obligation. Not only was the

king powerless to enforce compliance with his order, but the barons, under the leadership of Stephen Langton, demanded of him new guarantees that he would observe the laws of his predecessors and respect the privileges of their order. Unless he granted them a new charter confirming their rights, they would renounce his allegiance. John sought to gain time and hurried military preparations for a war against them.

The barons' forces, however, called the "Army of God and Holy Church," promptly marched on London and entered it amidst the rejoicing of the inhabitants. The few supporters who had held out with the king now deserted him, and in his defenseless position, he was forced to treat with the barons. He agreed to meet them at Runnymede, an island in the Thames, and there on June 15, 1215, he accepted their demands and signed *Magna Carta* or the Great Charter of English liberties.

193. Contents of the Great Charter.—Among the numerous clauses of the Great Charter, some deserve special attention, as they had a far-reaching effect on English public life. The instrument guaranteed the rights and privileges of the Church and the freedom of episcopal elections. It protected individual liberty by declaring that no freeman was to be imprisoned, exiled or deprived of his property except by the judgment of his equals and in accordance with the law of the land. Common pleas, *i. e.*, private suits, were to be heard at a fixed place instead of being brought before courts travelling about with the king. Regular sessions of the court were to be held in the counties four times a year. In the imposition of a fine both the character of the offense and the property of the offender must be taken into consideration.

As to feudal obligations, the tenants-in-chief, upon entering on their estates, were to be required to pay no more than a fixed contribution. The king was to be guardian to the minor heirs of his vassals, was to treat them fairly, marry them suitably and manage their property carefully. Only in three specified cases might he independently levy aids or taxes from his tenants, namely, for ransoming his royal person, knighting his

eldest son, or marrying his eldest daughter. In all other circumstances he might impose taxes only with the consent of the Common Council of the realm. The Charter also protected commerce in maintaining the trade privileges granted the towns and introducing unity of weights and measures in the kingdom. As security that the provisions would be faithfully observed by the king, a commission of twenty-five members elected by the barons—a sort of vigilance committee—was to be instituted with the eventual right to remonstrate with the king and to resort to force.

With the Great Charter a new period opens in the internal history of England. This important document formed the basis of English civil and political liberty. It had, over previous royal pledges, the advantage of containing a definite statement of rights and of making concessions to all classes, since the barons promised to extend to the lower orders the grants made to them. The struggle for its maintenance and for the limitation of the royal power was to continue throughout the century. Despite the later condemnation of the Charter by the Pope, who was probably misled by statements of John, and who as a matter of fact did not so much condemn the grant of rights as the manner in which the barons had exacted the grant, we may clearly see that the influence of the Church in the person of Stephen Langton and the later legates worked for the rights of the oppressed.

194. John's Last Years.—John's first care, after the signing of Magna Carta, was to work for its suppression. He represented to the Pope that the barons, in extorting the concessions, had infringed on the pontiff's rights as overlord. Innocent III took the same view. He released the king from the pledges which he had given, condemned the barons, and suspended Stephen Langton from the exercise of his spiritual functions. At the same time John, profiting by the dissensions which had already set in among the barons, took up arms against them. He was so successful in this new conflict that his adversaries, in distress, appealed to the king of France for help and offered the crown to the latter's

eldest son, the later Louis VIII. The prince landed in England, proceeded to London and received the homage of his subjects. John's situation was again critical, but he was taken ill and died, after a few days, worn out by excesses, fatigue, and fever (October, 1216). His death saved the Angevin dynasty. The barons, whom hatred had united under Louis' standard, deserted the foreigner and recognized John's youthful son as King Henry III.

195. Henry III (1216–1272); **His Character and Reign.**—Under John Lackland the struggle against royal despotism resulted in the concession of the Great Charter, under Henry III the fight against the king's favorites and unworthy ministers led to the framing of the Provisions of Oxford and the creation of the House of Commons.

Henry was only nine years old at his accession, but things went rather well as long as he could exercise no control over the government. In 1227 he was declared of age and began to rule personally. He undoubtedly had some good qualities and was the first English king to accord marked protection to art. But, unlike the other Angevin rulers, he lacked political talent, and his reign is notable for the influence of favorites and foreigners, chiefly the French relations of his wife and mother. Such a government was bound to arouse considerable opposition. The discontent was intensified by the king's constant demands for money; he needed it for his favorites, for his brother who was elected to the imperial dignity, for his son who aspired to the crown of Sicily, and finally for the Pope whom he generously supported in the conflict with Frederic II. As it belonged to the Common Council of the realm to vote money grants, its meetings became more and more frequent. Owing to the king's constant needs, this assembly, which from 1239 onward is spoken of as the *Parliament*, adopted the practise of insisting on a redress of wrongs before a new vote of subsidies.

196. The Provisions of Oxford (1258).—The opposition to the king became more pronounced in 1257. A successive failure of crops threatened England with famine, the king's

extravagant plans of political aggrandizement produced no results, and the barons had found a leader in Simon of Montfort, Earl of Leicester. This nobleman was the third son of the conqueror of the Albigenses and sincerely favored reform in Church and state. When the king called a Parliament in 1258, the meeting, held at Oxford, was largely attended by members of both the higher and lesser nobility, all of whom significantly appeared in arms.

A list of demands which have been called the *Provisions of Oxford* was drawn up by this "Mad Parliament," as the king's supporters styled it. The acceptance of the Provisions was tantamount to a substitution of the power of the barons for that of the king. A permanent royal council of fifteen members chosen by the Parliament was to be created and to meet three times a year. It was to have a voice in the appointment to higher offices and to enforce the observance of the Charter. Henry, unable to resist, accepted the demands of the barons, and again took his oft-repeated oath to the Charter.

197. The Barons' War; Battles of Lewes (1264) and of Evesham (1265); End of Henry III's Reign.—Henry, like his father, found it easier to make than to keep promises. He did not observe the Provisions to which he had reluctantly submitted at Oxford, and ruled as if no restrictions had been imposed on him. The barons, seeing that his pledges were empty words, took up arms against him in 1263. The war was waged with doubtful results for some time, and then the contending parties agreed to submit the quarrel for decision to St. Louis, King of France. His verdict was entirely favorable to the king and annulled the Provisions of Oxford. The barons refused to abide by the settlement and continued the war. Simon of Montfort remained in command of their forces. His military efforts were rewarded by a most important success in 1264 at Lewes in Kent, where he captured the king, the king's brother, and part of the royal army. The conqueror reorganized the government by taking all power from the monarch and

placing it in the hands of three men, the principal of whom was Montfort himself.

An extraordinary Parliament was convened to sanction the changes introduced. The assembly was not to be composed only of the barons and members of the higher nobility, but two knights chosen in each county and representatives elected by the cities and boroughs were also to be admitted. For the first time in English history, representatives of the common people, "the Commons," were called to sit with the nobility in Parliament (1265). The Earl of Leicester has, on this account, sometimes been called the creator of the House of Commons. The Parliament approved the reorganization of the government, and the king again swore to conform to it.

Simon of Montfort's triumph was, however, more apparent than real. Some of the barons only reluctantly accepted the new government and the king still had powerful partisans. These two factions, hostile to Montfort, joined forces and attacked him at Evesham in western England (1265). He put up a gallant defense against a superior enemy, but was killed with his eldest son and last partisans. The royal power was restored to its position previous to the acceptance of the Oxford Provisions. Henry III from now on gave a more just and orderly administration to the country and established internal peace on such a firm basis that, at his death in 1272, no disturbance occurred in spite of his successor's absence on a Crusade.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE FEUDAL LORD; CHIVALRY; THE CRUSADES

I. Feudalism[1]; Chivalry; The Peace and Truce of God

198. The Feudal Lord; His Training and Occupation.— Feudalism was a social organization originating in land tenure, resting on force and suited to crude and barbarous times. The feudal lord originally acknowledged the sovereignty of the king, but soon ignored the latter's power, and acted as an independent sovereign. He ruled supreme on his own estates, used his own standard or flag, and resided, so to speak, in his own capital, the castle.

His education fitted him chiefly for a warrior's life. As a child he remained under the care of his mother until about the age of seven. He was then sent to the castle of another nobleman where, as a page, he spent about seven more years. During this period he received his first training in the use of arms and horses. Usually he did not accompany the lord to the field of battle, but remained in the service and under the guidance of the ladies at home. Once his apprenticeship as a page was completed, he became a squire, perfected himself in the military art, and continued to study and practise the rules and customs of polite intercourse. His constant duty was personal service to his lord, whose arms he bore, whose horse he tended, and at whose side he fought. At the age of twenty-one his education came to an end with the ceremony in which he was dubbed a knight.

The knight's principal occupations were war, tournaments, hunting, and festivals. War was the favorite occupation of these strong, violent, and frequently lawless men. It was

[1] See also on Feudalism, Chap. IX.

waged against neighbors on almost any pretext or without any pretext whatever. It consisted in raids, surprise attacks, destruction of crops, and seizure of cattle. The tournament was a sort of mimic warfare. A kind of mock battle between a few or hundreds and even thousands of knights, it served at once as an amusement and as a preparation for war. Hunting was not only a pastime, but a necessity. The lord indulged in it to obtain provisions for himself and his men. As agriculture did not yield rich harvests and domestic animals were few, wild game supplied to a large extent the wants of the lord's table. The festivals were frequent, lasted for days, and were most expensive affairs. The invited guests, usually very numerous, were not only lavishly entertained, but generally received also most costly gifts.

Feasting on such a scale not unfrequently brought a nobleman to the verge of ruin. To recoup his fortune he levied new taxes on an already overburdened peasantry or resorted to pillage. He despoiled travellers and robbed merchants who passed near his castle, stole the cattle and articles of value from his neighbor's estate, and sometimes even seized his neighbor's tenants and held them for ransom. Frequently little difference existed between a noble lord and a highway robber.

199. Chivalry.—Anxious to mitigate the above-described evils and to soften the natural savagery of such men, the Church had recourse to a threefold means: she introduced milder methods of warfare by the institution of chivalry; she restricted war to certain places and times by the establishment of the peace and truce of God; she directed the warlike ardor of these incorrigible fighters against the common enemy, the Turk, by summoning them to the Crusades.

Chivalry designated originally the noblemen who fought on horseback (from the French *cheval*, horse). At the present time it is generally applied to the whole institution of knighthood with its ideals of unquestioning loyalty and unselfish

devotion. The institution owed its high and ennobling character particularly to the Catholic Church. Under her influence the profession of knight received a sacred and religious character. The ceremonies admitting a nobleman to knighthood bore a most solemn and impressive character.

The candidate prepared for the honor, in an austere fashion, which recalls the life of the monk rather than that of the warrior. He observed a fast of twenty-four hours, spent a whole night in prayer in the church, made a worthy confession, and received communion. At Mass he listened to a sermon on the duties of his new state of life. His sword and armor were placed on the altar and received a special blessing. Before he was invested with them he took the customary oath in which he promised to fear, revere, and serve God religiously, to be ever faithful to his pledged word and to protect the weak, widows, orphans, and maidens. He was then struck lightly on the shoulder with the flat of the sword by the officiating lord, who at the same time pronounced some such formula as "In the name of God, of St. Michael, and of St. George I make thee a knight."

Chivalry effected gradually a great improvement in social conditions and raised the moral standard of the time. It rendered manners and customs less barbarous, greatly developed the sentiment of honor, inspired respect for women, compassion for the suffering, and tenderness for the weak. How highly esteemed was the institution of chivalry may be gathered from the fact that it has been called the "flower of feudalism." Unfortunately, the high sentiments which inspired the knight in his relations with persons of the nobility seemed to be non-existent when he dealt with tenants, peasants, and serfs. They continued to be considered as inferior beings, on whom he frequently inflicted most barbarous punishment.

200. The Peace and Truce of God.—The Church, not content with mitigating the sufferings of war, sought to restrict private warfare itself. To this effect the Peace and

Truce of God were instituted. The aim of both was identical, viz., to enforce respect for the public peace; but their origin, character, and demands differed. Their difference in character and aim has been very well expressed by a modern writer who says: "The Peace of God was intended to protect certain classes at all times, the Truce to protect all classes at certain times." The Peace of God protected particularly non-combatants, sacred places, and private property. It forbade the destruction or devastation of churches and monasteries, condemned theft and robbery committed by belligerents, and forbade all attacks on clerics, peasants, the poor, pilgrims, Crusaders, and even merchants on a journey.

The Truce of God prohibited war operations on certain days and during some seasons which seemed to recall in a more special manner, events or mysteries of the life of the Savior. All warfare was to cease from Wednesday evening until Monday morning, from the beginning of Advent to the Octave Day of the feast of the Epiphany, from the beginning of Lent to Low Sunday. These were the more general periods during which fighting had to be suspended. But the times differed frequently, according to localities. In all places, however, where the Peace and Truce of God were observed, general social conditions were bettered, life was rendered more tolerable, and property more secure. The most beneficial results followed, and the spirit of Christianity penetrated more and more all classes of society. It was impossible, however, to suppress war altogether, since the feudal lords would not surrender their cherished privilege of waging private war. Under these circumstances the Crusades, spoken of in the next section, afforded an excellent outlet to their combative ardor and irrepressible fighting spirit.

II. The Crusades (1095–1270); Their Causes, Character and Number

201. Name, Character and Causes of the Crusades.— The name "Crusade" is derived from the Cross (in Latin "Crux") made of cloth which the Crusaders wore on their outer garments. The Crusades were expeditions, at once military and religious, which were undertaken in fulfillment of a vow or promise to deliver the Holy Land from the Mohammedans. The sacred places, hallowed by the life or death of the Savior, were dear to all Christians and were frequently visited by pilgrims from the West. Even after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Mohammedans in 637, the pilgrimages did not cease. While the land was under Saracen rule, the sacred shrines remained in Christian hands. The devout follower of Christ, although far from enjoying unrestricted freedom of travel in the East, could nevertheless satisfy his desire to worship God in the places sanctified by his Master's bodily presence. In the eleventh century an English abbot led as many as 600 pilgrims to Palestine, and a German bishop no less than 12,000. In this very century, however, a greater enemy to the Christian practises than the Saracens made its appearance. The Seljukian Turks, converts to Islam, rapidly extended their eastern conquests, endangered the safety of the pilgrims and threatened the independence of the Eastern Empire and of the whole Christian world. In 1070 Jerusalem fell into their hands, and shortly after, Syria and Asia Minor were conquered.

Hard pressed by this terrible foe, the Eastern emperor appealed to the Pope for help. Although the appeal was particularly for military assistance, the Popes, whose office is primarily spiritual, became the authors and organizers of the Crusades. Amidst the division and strife of the feudal states, the papacy alone retained the great idea of Christian unity and looked upon all Christians as members of the same family. It is to the credit of the papacy to have

directed the warlike energies of the medieval noblemen against the common enemy of the Christian name, the Turk. Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085) conceived the idea of a Crusade. But, engaged as he was in the Investiture Contest, he could not put the project into execution. The realization of his idea was to come shortly after under Urban II.

202. Urban II; the Council of Clermont (1095); **Summons to the First Crusade; Privileges of the Crusaders.**—After the reign of Pope Gregory VII sad tales concerning the mistreatment of Christian pilgrims by the Turks caused indignation in the West. In 1095 Urban II convoked a council which met at Clermont in France and which marks the beginning of the Crusades. The Pope was personally present at this numerous gathering of Christian bishops and noblemen. It was he, not Peter the Hermit as has frequently been said, who was the originator of the First Crusade. He made a stirring appeal in favor of the expedition and his discourse was received with the greatest enthusiasm. "God wills it," "God wills it," words destined to become the war cry of the Crusaders, was the answer of the council and of the whole Christian world.

Numerous preachers immediately imitated the Pope's example and called Christendom to war for the deliverance of the Holy Land. Crowds of noblemen solemnly promised to take part in the expedition and received as a distinctive mark a cross of red cloth to be worn on the shoulder. Urban II gave the movement a spiritual leader in Bishop Adhemar, whom he appointed papal legate for the expedition. He also granted to all participants a plenary indulgence and extended the Truce of God for three years. His policy was imitated by his successors, and great spiritual advantages, such as remission of public penances and concessions of indulgences, were always granted to the Crusaders. They even enjoyed exemption from civil jurisdiction and inviolability of persons and lands during their absence in the Holy Land. A special legislation was, as it were, created in their favor.

203. Character and Nationality of the Crusaders.—The Crusaders were recruited from all classes of society. Most of them were animated by ardent Christian zeal and prompted by religious motives. The living, sturdy faith of the medieval knight pressed him eagerly to take up arms for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre and the salvation of his own soul. It was also their strong faith which prompted innumerable other persons of both sexes and all ages to join the movement. Women, children, and old men left their homes for the Holy Land. They knew they could not fight, but hoped to suffer and die for the cause of Christ. While the religious motive undoubtedly predominated in most of the Crusaders, love of gain and adventure brought not a few to the East. The latter hoped to better their fortunes, and in some instances to conquer a little principality of their own in the Orient. All nationalities of western Europe took part in the Crusades. England, France, Germany, Normandy, Lorraine and other states were represented. Most of the Crusaders, however, came from France. So eminent a part did the Franks play in these expeditions that all western Christians came in the East to be designated and were known for centuries as Franks. The men from each province or feudal estate were usually under the command of their own lord, and no commander-in-chief was appointed or exercised power over all Crusaders.

204. Number of the Crusades.—Eight important Crusades were undertaken for the deliverance of the Holy Land. Two of these—the first and the fourth—were led by noblemen, no emperor or king taking part in them. The six others were all imperial or royal expeditions. The following is a list of the eight important Crusades, with their respective dates and leaders or nationalities:

1. 1096–1099 (French, Germans, English and Normans of southern Italy).
2. 1147–1149 (The Emperor Conrad III and Louis VII of France).
3. 1189–1192 (Frederic Barbarossa, Philip II and Richard the Lion-Hearted).

4. 1202–1204 (French and Venetians).
5. 1217–1221. (The French nobleman John of Brienne and Andrew II of Hungary).
6. 1228–1229 (The Emperor Frederic II).
7. 1248–1254 (St. Louis, King of France).
8. 1268–1270 (St. Louis).

III. History of the Crusades

205. The First Crusade (1096–1099); **The Four Expeditions and Their Respective Leaders.**—Pope Urban's appeal had aroused such enthusiasm among the people that, while the regular troops were being collected, large disorderly bands of peasants and adventurers set out at once for Palestine under Walter the Penniless and Peter the Hermit. Owing to their undisciplined zeal, these bands were guilty of many excesses; they plundered the country through which they passed, and massacred the Jews whom they encountered on their way. Very few of them ever reached the Holy Land.

The organized expeditions were to be four in number. They were to set out from different points on August 15, 1096, and were to advance by different land routes to Constantinople.

The leaders of these expeditions were:

1. Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin, who, with a large army composed of French and German troops, arrived at Constantinople in December, 1096.
2. Raymond of Toulouse, whose army consisted of Italian and French knights and who arrived in April, 1097.
3. Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, and his cousin Tancred, who with Normans and Italians also arrived in April, 1097.
4. Hugh of Vermandois, brother of the King of France, and Robert of Normandy, brother of the King of England, who, with French and English troops, arrived in May, 1097.

206. The Military Operations of the First Crusade.—The Emperor of the East, Alexis, though alarmed at the number of the Crusaders, undertook to supply them with food, and to transport them across the Bosporus, for he hoped, through them, to restore his power in Syria and Asia

Minor. Their first exploit in Asia Minor was the siege of Nice. Seeing that the city was about to fall, and fearing it would be sacked, the Emperor Alexis entered into secret negotiations with the besieged, who surrendered to him, rather than fall into the hands of the western Christians. The latter were thus insidiously cheated of the fruit of their labors.

Soon after, the splendid victory of Dorylaeum opened for the Crusaders a road to the south, but the hot, dry climate, the hardships of the march, lack of provisions, sickness, and constant skirmishes with the Turks were rapidly thinning their ranks. The personal ambitions of some leaders weakened them still more by causing a division in the army. Baldwin and Tancred left the main body and went into Armenia, where they founded the Latin principality of Edessa. The main army advanced towards Antioch and laid siege to the city. The siege was a long one, and famine and disease decimated the Christian troops. Bohemond, the Norman chief, having extracted from the other leaders a promise that he should be the lord of the city if he captured it, entered into negotiations with an Armenian traitor, and, in the night of June 2, 1098, came into possession of the city. No sooner were the Christians inside the walls than a large Turkish army appeared and besieged it. The food found in the fortress was soon exhausted, and famine made itself felt once more. Urged partly by despair, and partly by the enthusiasm engendered by the discovery of a lance which was wrongly supposed to be the instrument of Our Lord's Passion, the Crusaders threw open the gates of the city, sallied forth and defeated and scattered the Turks. Antioch was erected into a Latin Principality.

The road to Jerusalem was now opened and, after some delay caused by their incessant quarrels, the Crusaders started on their march southward. When they came in sight of the Holy City, their hearts overflowed with joy, and they began the siege with great courage. In July, 1099,

A Crusading Host (*Kaulbach*)

Jerusalem was captured by storm and the population ruthlessly massacred. Godfrey of Bouillon, whose unselfish devotion to the holy cause had been most striking, was chosen to be the "Defender of the Holy Sepulchre." He did not take the title of king, and he had little or no political or military supremacy. Most of the Crusaders, having now discharged their vow, returned to their homes, leaving with Godfrey a very insufficient army for the defense of the Holy Places which had cost them so dear.

207. The Establishment of Military Religious Orders.— After the first Crusade, military religious Orders were instituted for the defense of the Holy Land. The three most important creations of this kind were, in order of their institution: (1) *The Knights Hospitallers of St. John*, so called from the Hospital in Jerusalem where they were first established. They became also known as Knights of Rhodes after their establishment in the island of that name (1310). They were likewise designated as the Knights of Malta, after Malta was turned over to them as their place of residence by Charles V. (2) *The Knights Templars*, who derived their name from their original home located near the Temple in Jerusalem. (3) *The Teutonic Knights*, who were so designated from the nationality of their founders. While the Hospitallers and Templars were, to a large extent, French Orders, the Teutonic Knights were organized by Germans and remained German in membership.

These new religious assumed all the obligations of monks. They took the vows of obedience, poverty and chastity, but added to them the vow to fight against the infidel. They were at once knights and monks. All three Orders grew rapidly in membership and wealth and rendered invaluable services to the Christian cause in the Orient or in Europe. Founded on zeal for religion and passion for fighting, and uniting in one barracks and monastery, these Orders were admirably suited to the spirit and needs of the age. The papacy, in recognition of their heroic devotion to the cause

of religion, exempted them from the jurisdiction of kings and bishops and placed them under the direct authority of the Holy See.

208. The Second Crusade (1147–1149).—The first important loss of conquered territory was sustained by the Crusaders in 1144 when Edessa was retaken by the infidels. Its fall caused such commotion in the West that St. Bernard was commissioned by the Pope to preach a new crusade. The French king, Louis VII, and the Emperor Conrad III answered the appeal and set out for Palestine by land through Hungary, Greece, and Asia Minor. They met with the same difficulties as their predecessors, suffering not only from the hostility of the Turks, but also from that great and unexpected obstacle to the success of the Crusades, the treachery of the Greek Christians. The two leaders were unable to attack and reconquer Edessa. They reached Jerusalem with a small remnant of their armies and, in conjunction with the troops quartered in Jerusalem, advanced to the attack of Damascus. The enterprise was unsuccessful and the Crusaders returned home without having accomplished anything.

209. The Third Crusade (1189–1192).—The young kingdom of Jerusalem had been constantly threatened by the Turks, and in 1187 the formidable Saladin, who had already conquered Egypt and overthrown the Fatimite Calif, made a decisive attack upon the Latin kingdom. The terrible defeat suffered by the Christians at Hattin was followed shortly after by the fall of Jerusalem (1187), an event which was looked upon from one end of Europe to the other as a terrible calamity.

William, Archbishop of Tyre, pleaded the cause of religion and the Holy Sepulchre, and the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, the King of France, Philip II Augustus, and the King of England, Richard the Lion-Hearted, undertook a new Crusade. This expedition was well organized; the army was arranged in battalions and a council of war was ap-

pointed. The accidental drowning of the Emperor Frederic in fording a river in Asia Minor threw a gloom over his followers. Some of the German princes now returned home; the others continued the expedition and advanced to Acre, which was being besieged by Christian troops. It was before this place that they were later joined by the French and English armies. The fortress was reduced in July, 1191, after a siege which had lasted for two years. A few weeks later Philip Augustus, after a quarrel with the English king, returned to France. Richard remained behind, distinguished himself by brilliant but useless exploits, and finally concluded a truce for three years with Saladin. While he had acquired a reputation for personal courage, impetuosity and love of adventure, he had achieved nothing of importance, and never even reached Jerusalem.

210. The Fourth Crusade (1202–1204).—In 1198 Pope Innocent III summoned all Christians to form a new Crusade. Many French knights answered the call and arranged with the Venetians for the transportation of their troops on the Mediterranean. The Crusaders not being able to pay the price agreed upon, the Doge Dandolo asked, instead of money, help to regain the city of Zara in Dalmatia. This the Crusaders willingly gave, and having taken Zara, they were easily persuaded to pass by Constantinople to assist the dethroned Emperor Isaac against the usurper of his throne. Isaac in exchange promised that the Greeks would return to communion with the Church of Rome and that the fighters would receive 200,000 marks. The Crusaders reconquered the throne of the Eastern emperors, but Isaac being unable to keep his contract, they occupied the city of Constantinople and founded the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204). The expedition never reached the Holy Land.

211. The Fifth Crusade (1217–1221).—The failure of the fourth Crusade did not dishearten the Pope, who immediately proposed a new one. The Emperor Frederic II,

having taken the vow, put off his departure; but Andrew II, King of Hungary, accompanied by many Austrian and German lords, and aided by French troops under John of Brienne, titular King of Jerusalem, determined to attack the Moslems in Egypt. The Christian troops landed opposite Damietta, a strongly fortified town, which they succeeded in taking. The Sultan offered to restore Jerusalem in exchange for Damietta, but the Christians, trusting in the speedy arrival of Frederic II with fresh troops, refused his offer. After much delay, they pushed up the Nile to Mansurah, but the enemy opened the sluices of the river, and the crusading army was fortunate to be allowed to retreat on the condition of evacuating Damietta.

212. The Sixth Crusade (1228–1229).—The Emperor Frederic II at last started on his so-called Crusade. No devotion or pious enthusiasm urged him; his aims, on the contrary, were entirely political and selfish. Having married the daughter of John of Brienne, he was determined to obtain the kingdom of Jerusalem for his young son. As at this time he was actually excommunicated, the clergy and military orders refused to join him. The conquest of the Holy Land was therefore out of the question, but he succeeded, by skilful negotiations which resulted in the treaty of Jaffa, in obtaining nominal possession of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth, and in concluding a truce for ten years. Without any religious ceremony whatever, Frederic crowned himself King of Jerusalem, and soon after returned to Europe (1229).

213. The Seventh Crusade (1248–1254).—In 1244 a Turkish tribe fleeing before the Mongols took possession of Jerusalem, and this catastrophe caused a stir in Europe. Innocent IV appealed to the princes of Christendom in behalf of the Holy Places, but Louis IX, King of France, alone responded. In June, 1248, Louis, accompanied by his three brothers and a large number of French knights, set sail for Egypt. The French fleet cast anchor before Damietta, and after a siege of two days the Saracens were defeated,

and the Crusaders took possession of the city. Unfortunately, it was decided to spend the winter at Damietta, and this period of enforced idleness was disastrous to the discipline of the army. When the winter was over and the Crusaders resumed the advance, the king's brother, Count Robert of Artois, impetuous and imprudent, found himself in command of a small, undisciplined band of soldiers, slightly in advance of the regular army. Forgetful of his duty to wait for the king, he attacked and defeated the Saracens. They fled, pursued by Robert and his little troop. Noticing that they had to deal with but a small portion of the Christian forces, they rallied and attacked the conquerors, killed their commander and scattered the army. They succeeded also in cutting off all communication between the army of Louis and Damietta and in capturing him and his two remaining brothers. The king was obliged to surrender Damietta and pay a heavy ransom. He remained in the East for nearly four more years, hoping in vain for a new army. On the death of his mother, the Regent Blanche of Castile, in 1254, he returned to France, but remained a Crusader at heart.

214. The Eighth Crusade (1268–1270).—In 1268 St. Louis, accompanied by his three sons, undertook a second Crusade. But religious enthusiasm was dead even in France. Some noblemen refused to accompany their royal master and the king's brother, Charles of Anjou, who offered his assistance, was animated by mercenary motives, for he hoped to collect a tribute which the Sultan of Tunis owed him. With this end in view, he persuaded Louis to go to Tunis, on the plea of converting its ruler to Christianity. Hardly had the French fleet anchored off Tunis when a plague broke out, the king himself was attacked, and died just before the arrival of Charles of Anjou and his army (August 25, 1270).

By the king's death, Charles became the leader of the Crusade. He promptly concluded with the Sultan a treaty advantageous to his own Kingdom of Sicily and abandoned the

expedition. With the death of St. Louis the period of the Crusades comes to an end. The childlike faith and burning religious fervor which had made them possible had ebbed away. New Crusades were indeed preached, after him, and undertaken by Christian princes in Spain, Prussia and Hungary, but no army ever set sail again to rescue the Holy Land from the hands of the Infidel.

IV. General Results of the Crusades

215. The Main Object of the Crusades not attained; but by them Europe was saved from the Turk.—The crusading movement for almost two centuries stirred the Christian world to deeds of unsurpassed heroism. The wars which it inspired cost western Christendom some six million lives and incalculable material sacrifices. In spite of these enormous losses the direct and main object of the Crusades—the deliverance of the Holy Land—was not attained. The Christians, it is true, conquered Jerusalem and established their kingdom there. They created various states in the Orient and founded a Latin empire at Constantinople. But all these conquests were again lost and the Sacred Places ultimately remained in the hands of the Mohammedans.

In spite of this apparent failure, the sacrifices were not made in vain. For the Turk was not merely an infidel and tyrannical sovereign of the Holy Land, he was also a danger to Europe and to all Christendom. He was ever threatening to extend his conquests further west. The Crusades held him back and weakened his power. Instead of continuing his fierce attacks on Christian lands, he was forced to defend the conquests already made. The Christian states established in the East were like a bulwark obstructing his forward march. While the Crusades did not result in the independence of Palestine, *they defended and maintained the independence of Europe.*

216. Material Advantages and Religious Indifference resulting from the Crusades.—The Crusades also united

western Christendom. Under the leadership of the papacy the constantly warring feudal lords were brought together. As they were united in the same great undertaking, for a common purpose, their ideas broadened. From the narrow view of their castles, whose restricted limits were the measure of the world for them, they rose to the consideration of higher and more general interests. The West met the West in the Crusades, and the representatives of the various countries and provinces gained by mutual acquaintance. But the West also met the East. The latter, whether Arabic or Greek, had reached a higher degree of civilization than the former. The frequent relations which were now established between these so widely different parts of the world resulted for western Europe in the spread of refinement, greater commercial activity, and substantial maritime progress.

The western nobility, born and bred in the country, saw and admired the treasures, art, and cultured life of cities like Constantinople. They witnessed the luxury and comfort of the East, liked and reproduced them. Artistic furniture, delicately wrought weapons, beautiful rugs, precious stuffs and silks along with numerous other articles were introduced in the West. The transportation and maintenance far from home of large bodies of men made frequent commercial and maritime relations a necessity. The Italian merchants and ports profited particularly by this circumstance. The resultant improvement in the art of navigation prepared the later voyages of discovery. The vessels of larger size, introduced during the Crusades, rendered extended voyages less difficult and less dangerous.

As a counterbalance to these material advantages, it must be added that the Crusades also produced religious indifference and considerable moral corruption. Through social intercourse with persons practising a religion differing from their own, some of the Crusaders abated considerably in their religious enthusiasm, and in some instances adopted Oriental vices.

217. Political and Social Changes wrought by the Crusades. —Considered from a political viewpoint, the Crusades

likewise wrought far-reaching changes. They greatly reduced the power of the feudal lords, first because thousands of these lost their lives in the undertaking, and second because the survivors usually returned impoverished. The Crusaders waged war at their own expense. The cost of maintenance, equipment, and armament had to be borne by them. Considerable sums were necessary to meet these expenses. In order to secure the needed funds, the noblemen were constrained to sell or mortgage part of their estates. Those who survived the expeditions returned ruined, and were driven to a second sale or mortgage. These losses in lives and treasure suffered by the nobility profited the lord's superior, the king, and his inferiors, the vassals. The Crusades thus helped to strengthen the royal power and to prepare national unity. They also improved the condition and increased the rights of the vassal. The towns particularly profited by the financial embarrassment of their overlords and, by offering them material help, secured important liberties.

The Crusades thus contributed to the diminution of inequality among the different classes, fostered a democratic spirit, increased the prosperity, and laid the foundation of the freedom of the medieval towns.

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CHAPTER XVII

NEW INSTITUTIONS: THE MENDICANT ORDERS; THE UNIVERSITIES; THE INQUISITION

I. The Mendicant Orders

218. Thirteenth Century Conditions and the Rise of the Mendicant Orders.—New monastic Orders were instituted to meet the peculiar needs of this period. They were the military religious Orders, which, briefly described elsewhere, were organized for the armed defense of the Christian Church; and the Mendicant Orders—the Franciscans and Dominicans —which were instituted for the moral reform and religious instruction of the Christian people.

Profound changes had come over western Europe at the beginning of the thirteenth century. A pronounced movement of population to the towns, caused by the growth of industry, had taken place. The people in these new surroundings frequently found themselves reduced to the direst need and deprived of all spiritual care. They lived in misery, ignorance, and neglect. Their migration to the cities had removed them from the influence of the monks who had taught them the arts of civilization and the religion of Christ. These former teachers continued to fulfill their mission of prayer and study in the silent solitude of the peaceful and solitary cloister, but the people, in migrating to the towns, had gone beyond their reach, and could no longer seek from them the spiritual ministrations of which they stood in need. On the other hand, the priests in the towns were few in number and frequently unable to cope with the difficulties of the new situation. Thus cut off from spiritual influences, the people easily became a prey to the contemporary heresies or abandoned all practise of religion.

The danger to society arising from this new situation was

increased by the spirit of intellectual and religious unrest prevalent in learned circles. In the universities philosophical speculations and theological controversies had assumed such a daring character that they menaced the teaching, life, and organization of the Church. To the ignorance and neglect of religion among the masses were thus added a wavering faith and restless questioning in intellectual circles.

It was to check these evils and provide a remedy that the Mendicant Orders were instituted. The Franciscans labored more particularly at the moral reform of the people; the Dominicans worked especially among the intellectual classes. The members of both Orders appeared not merely as monks intent upon their own personal sanctification, but as apostles devoting their time and consecrating their lives to the salvation of others. They knew the people, lived and labored among the people. They even became directly dependent on the people for their support, renouncing all possessions, not only as individuals, as had so far been the monastic practise, but also as a community or monastery. So absolute was their poverty that they went about begging their daily means of subsistence, a circumstance to which they owe their name of Mendicant or Begging Friars. Their convents were established, not in the country, but in the towns, and the advantages of their religious rule were extended to both sexes and to all classes. One religious Order was established for men, another for women, and a so-called Third Order included persons who could not abandon the world, but adopted certain religious practises suited to their state of life.

219. Establishment of the Franciscans.—St. Francis of Assisi was born in 1181 or 1182, the son of a rich merchant of Assisi in Italy, and was at first associated with his father in trade. He showed, however, little liking for a merchant's career and led a rather gay life until the age of twenty-three. Two illnesses, with which he was afflicted in rapid succession, turned his mind to thoughts of eternity and made him re-

St. Francis of Assisi (*Barbieri*)

nounce the world and all earthly goods. He began the life of an itinerant penitent, and went about, admired by some, but scoffed at by others, preaching penance everywhere.

Some companions soon joined him and for them he wrote his first rule, which was very brief and was based on excerpts from the Sacred Scriptures (1209). To this little band he gave the name of Friars Minor ("little, humble, meek brothers"). Drawn by his example and encouraged by his counsels, Clare, a young heiress of Assisi, took the veil and became the foundress of the Second Franciscan Order, that of the Poor Ladies or Poor Clares (1212). The two Orders grew so rapidly that a definite and comprehensive rule became a necessity for each and was drafted by St. Francis. The rule for men was approved by the Holy See in 1223 and that for women in 1251. As early as 1221 the Founder completed the Franciscan organization by the establishment of a Third Order composed exclusively of lay membership. Shortly after, on October 3, 1226, he breathed his last in the Church of the Portiuncula near Assisi, and was canonized two years after his death.

220. The Founding of the Dominicans.—St. Dominic was born in 1170 at Calaroga in Spain. He belonged to a noble and religious family and exhibited, from childhood, fervor in prayer and attraction for an ascetic life. As a student at Palencia, he was remarkable, amidst the frivolities of a university town, for his earnest and edifying conduct. He thus recommended himself for ordination to the priesthood and the position of canon regular in his native diocese. In 1206 he accompanied his bishop to southern France, where his soul was deeply stirred at the progress of the Albigensian heresy. He resolved to devote his life, in apostolic simplicity, to the conversion of these heretics. Seeing how successfully their women spread the error through the erection of convents and through active means of propaganda, he immediately established a convent of women for the defense and propagation of the Catholic faith among the members of their sex.

This was his first foundation, although it is generally known as the Second Order. Little by little a band of Apostolic men grouped themselves round him and formed the nucleus of a new religious Order of men. In 1215 St. Dominic went to Rome to seek its approbation. Innocent III granted the Saint's request in 1216 and placed the monks under the rule of St. Augustine. This rule was completed and considerably modified in 1220 by the adoption of strict poverty. Innocent's successor, Honorius III, gave the new religious the name of Friars Preachers with permission to preach and hear confessions everywhere, a privilege which was shortly after extended to the Franciscans. Dominic, like Francis, organized a Third Order consisting of men and women living in the world. He died August 6, 1221.

The growth of the Mendicant Orders was very rapid, and was due to the warm encouragement they received from the papacy and the marked favor they enjoyed with the people. Before the thirteenth century had run its course, the Franciscans numbered more than 60,000; the Dominicans, although much less numerous, had spread all over Europe and had established a mission in far-away Greenland. The two Orders not only worked at the conversion of the heathen and the reform of the Catholic people, but took a leading part in the intellectual life of the time and had representatives like Saint Bonaventure and Saint Thomas Aquinas at the universities.

II. The Universities; Scholasticism; Gothic Art

221. The Rise of the Universities; Bologna and Paris.— Enactments were framed at different times by both ecclesiastical and civil authorities that each church and monastery should maintain a school. These prescriptions had been carried into effect in most places in the eleventh century, so that even rural communities had their schools. The

Christian world was thus prepared for the establishment of institutions imparting higher education and specializing in certain branches of knowledge. Schools of this kind rose to importance particularly in the thirteenth century and were soon designated by the name of universities. The term, however, originally did not have the meaning that is now attached to it. It was not applied to any buildings or material equipment, since such were non-existent, but to the men who taught or studied in the institution. It designated all those ("universitas," the universality, aggregate) belonging to a corporation or association. This association might be formed by the professors or students. As a result, two kinds of medieval universities have to be distinguished: (1) *The aristocratic or master type* in which the professors combined and exercised power; (2) *The democratic or student university* in which the scholars united and, while remaining dependent on the faculties in regard to degrees, imposed, in many other things, their rule on the institution. The university of Paris is the most illustrious example of the former type; that of Bologna is an instance of the latter. These two universities were the most celebrated of the Middle Ages. Paris was chiefly renowned for its theology; Bologna was famous particularly as a law school. Each organization was reproduced by many other institutions, that of Paris serving as model chiefly for the universities of northern Europe, that of Bologna being copied especially in the south.

222. Privileges of Universities.—The medieval universities were not created by any one single act, but grew gradually. Both the civil and the ecclesiastical power anxiously endeavored to secure the favor and support of these influential intellectual centres. Emperors, kings, and princes guaranteed them protection and granted them charters of privileges. But the ruler whose favors and charters were most highly valued was the Pope, who, owing to the universal character of the Catholic Church, could guarantee to the graduates

the cherished right to teach everywhere in reality as well as in name. The universities soon possessed such extensive privileges that they formed in the town an almost completely independent organization. They enjoyed the right not only of administering their own affairs without reference to the bishop or the local civil authority, but were also empowered to judge and punish offenses committed by their own members. Each formed a sort of self-governing and self-judging literary republic. If they became involved in difficulties with the local authorities they could exercise the right sanctioned by the Pope to suspend lectures, *i. e.*, to strike until their grievances were redressed. This was a most effective weapon, as a prolonged strike would readily lead to a migration of professors and students to a neighboring and rival town. Such migrations could easily be undertaken as the university owned no buildings, halls, or expensive equipment. It was in fact in this manner that several new universities were established.

223. University Degrees and Organization.—In so far as the subjects taught in the universities are concerned, professors and students were usually divided into four faculties: Fine Arts, Theology, Law, and Medicine. The faculty of the Fine Arts had the most numerous attendance and prepared the student for specialization in the other faculties. All the teaching at the university was done in Latin, for its principal aim was to train for a position in the Church, which used the Latin language. The method was identical everywhere. It consisted in the reading and interpretation of certain texts. The chief among these were the Scriptures, the Decretals of the Popes, the books of Aristotle and some works on Medicine. Non-Latin texts were read only in Latin translations. Books were not placed in the hands of the students, but were cited and commented on by the master.

As the great practical aim of the university was to train masters or teachers, the three degrees which it conferred possessed a corresponding significance: (1) *The baccalaureate*

showed that the student had become an apprentice in the teaching art; (2) *the licentiate* was nothing else than the license or permission to teach granted even before the candidate had stood the test of a final examination; (3) *the doctor or master's degree*, the highest obtainable, signified that the student had successfully passed all the examinations and had been given general authorization to teach.

The principal administrative officials of the university were *the chancellor*, *the rector*, *the deans*, and *the proctors*. The chancellor represented the bishop, or the pope and conferred the degrees. The deans were the heads of the respective faculties. The rector was originally the dean of the faculty of arts, but, owing to the importance of that school, he soon rose above his colleagues, and was in many respects the real head of the university. The proctors represented the interests of the nations into which the students of a university were divided. The rights of aliens being very restricted in the medieval towns; the students who came from many countries organized themselves into national bodies such as the French nation, the English nation. The proctors were the elected officials whom they deputed to defend their rights in the government of the university.

224. Number and Character of Students; Student Life.— The number of students in attendance at medieval universities is frequently rated as very high. The university of Paris is said to have had as many as 20,000 or even 30,000 students at one time. These figures are by many present-day historians considered as undoubtedly exaggerated. The figure of 6,000 or 7,000 is looked upon as being closer to the truth. Nor were even these students all graduate scholars. Many of them were no more than fourteen years old and were doing high school work. Frequent dissensions divided the student body and the townspeople. The age was lawless and barbarous, and the students were no better than the age. For many the university was a convenient place to idle away their time in riotous company rather

than an institution to which they came with the purpose of acquiring knowledge and training their character. Frequent brawls and deadly fights between the students and townspeople enlivened things in a medieval university town.

The municipality was often forced to yield important concessions to the university so as to prevent an exodus which threatened with economic ruin an otherwise not very populous centre. In order to regulate the life of the students and enforce discipline, colleges were soon established in university towns. At first boarding houses or dormitories established for the benefit of poor students, they eventually became institutions having an academic character and subject to university control.

225. Scholasticism; the Scholastics or Schoolmen.—The universities of the thirteenth century were flourishing centres of scholastic teaching, *i. e.*, of that method of oral disputation in syllogistic form having for its object the elucidation of philosophical problems and the scientific demonstration of revealed doctrine. The great teachers using this system are called "Scholastics" or "Schoolmen." Among them the most illustrious deserve at least a passing notice. St. Anselm (1033–1109) is usually rated as the first Scholastic; Abelard (1079–1142) as the most brilliant thinker of his age. Peter Lombard (d. 1164) had the good fortune of having his work called "Sentences" adopted as the favorite textbook in the schools. St. Bonaventure (1221–1274) and Duns Scotus (1266–1308) were the two most illustrious Schoolmen of the Franciscan Order; while Blessed Albertus Magnus (1193–1280) and St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) occupy a similar position among the Dominicans. The last-named, frequently called the Angelic Doctor, is the recognized chief of the Schoolmen, while the Franciscan Roger Bacon (1214–1294), owing to his special attention to experiments and the natural sciences, is the point of connection between Scholasticism and the Physical Science of a later day. Finally, the latest representative of Scholasticism is the obscure Gabriel

Biel (1425–1495), who has been called "the last of the Schoolmen."

226. Name and Origin of Gothic Art.—As Scholasticism was in science, so was Gothic in art the distinctive expression of Catholic culture in the thirteenth century. Gothic architecture has long been considered one of the finest and most perfect styles ever invented. Its artistic qualities were, however, not always appreciated and recognized. The name Gothic was applied to it in derision by Italian architects. Enthusiastic admirers of classical art, they erroneously considered the masterpieces, which remained uninfluenced by Greek or Roman models, as the productions of barbarians like the Goths. The style originated, however, not with any uncivilized tribe, but was invented in France, and more precisely in that part of France formed by Paris and the surrounding districts.

The finest specimens of Gothic art are found in those splendid churches of the Middle Ages which still fill the beholder with wonder. It is almost impossible, in our age, to realize how such beautiful piles, which would now cost millions of dollars, could be reared by the medieval towns, which were neither large nor wealthy. Still, not only a few, but many, Gothic cathedrals were built and at times completed only after a century or two of persevering labor. They bear silent but eloquent witness to the living faith, unbounded generosity and heroic spirit of self-sacrifice of those ages.

227. Characteristics of Gothic Architecture.—The first traces of Gothic architecture are found in the twelfth century. Up to that time churches were built in the Romanesque style which was so named from its resemblance to the old Roman architecture. The Romanesque churches had stone ceilings which, owing to their heavy weight, had to be supported by massive walls. So as not to weaken these, the windows were small and, as a consequence, the buildings dark inside. The windows were rounded at the top and the

rounded arch was one of the characteristics of the Romanesque style. The church was divided into three parts, a central part or nave and two side aisles. The aisles were separated from the nave by heavy columns which helped to support the ceiling.

These massive features are conspicuous by their absence in the Gothic style. French architects discovered that the ceiling or vaulting of the church could be supported by *stone ribs*, several of which could be brought together and made to rest on one pillar, somewhat as the branches of a tree rest on one trunk. As the weight of several ribs might, nevertheless, prove excessive for one column, flying buttresses relieved the pressure on the latter. These flying buttresses themseves rested on powerful buttresses which were built outside the church with the primary purpose of strengthening the walls. This new way of holding the ceiling made the massive walls unnecessary and the introduction of large windows possible. The Gothic windows were pointed at the top instead of rounded as in the Romanesque architecture, and Gothic is therefore sometimes referred to as pointed architecture. The absence of massive walls, the use of buttresses, and the pointed arch form essential features of the Gothic style.

228. The Influence and Spread of Gothic.—As in Gothic buildings the windows were high and wide and admitted a flood of light, stained glass was used to soften the effect, and lent an air of mystery, devotion and sweetness to the interior. The stained glass windows form by themselves valuable treasures of medieval art. Gothic was not only a new invention in architecture, it also opened new fields to painting and sculpture, which were used profusely in the delightful interior and exterior ornamentation of churches. Innumerable statues and large windows reproduced important themes of the life of the Savior and the Saints, and were, in an age of signs and symbols, potent means of popular religious instruction.

Gothic architecture reached its most exquisite form and full development in the thirteenth century. It spread from France to England, Germany, Italy, and other countries. In France the cathedrals of Rheims, Amiens, and Chartres are magnificent monuments built in this style. In England the cathedrals of Salisbury and Exeter, in Germany that of Cologne, and in Italy that of Milan are among the best known examples. The style always remained chiefly a northern art and never enjoyed wide popularity in Italy.

III. The Inquisition

229. Definition and Origin of the Inquisition.—The Inquisition (from the Latin "inquirere" to inquire, to look into) was a special ecclesiastical institution established for the discovery and suppression of heresy. Although heresies appeared at an early date in the Christian Church, the Inquisition was instituted at a comparatively late date. It was introduced in 1184 at a council held at Verona in northern Italy and was further developed and more completely organized by subsequent councils. At Verona the bishops were directed to search out heretics and to bring them to punishment. The spiritual penalties were to be pronounced against them by the Church, the material or bodily punishment to be inflicted by the secular power.

The council clearly held that not only spiritual, but also material penalties such as imprisonment or banishment, should be visited on heretics. This attitude, maintained throughout the Middle Ages, was due to the prevalent persuasion that heresy was not only an ecclesiastical offense, but also a civil crime. It was looked upon as the wilful and obstinate denial of an essential doctrine of the Catholic Church, and hence, as a dangerous attack on the unity and peace of the state. Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) likened it to high treason, and this opinion became prevalent after him. A council held in 1229 at Toulouse in southern France instituted the bishops or their delegates as responsible in-

quisitors, and practically constituted the Inquisition in the form under which it became famous.

230. The Inquisitorial Tribunal.—The tribunal of the Inquisition was not located in any one town or country. The inquisitors went about from place to place, and where they sat there was the tribunal. They might come frequently to the same city and might not visit others. Their movements and journeyings were contingent on the presence or absence of heresy in the different localities. Upon their arrival in a place they issued a summons citing every heretic before them. A period not exceeding thirty days was usually allowed in which to comply with this injunction and was called the time of grace. The persons who obeyed the summons and acknowledged their guilt were treated with leniency. Those, on the contrary, who failed to come forward freely, had to be denounced by the Catholic people. The names of the accusers, for their own safety and protection, were withheld from the alleged heretic. The names of all the witnesses to his guilt were, for the same reason, kept from him. He could get rid of some testimony against himself only by naming, and thus excluding as witnesses, his mortal enemies. He was not entitled to counsel, as no one was supposed to defend a heretic. Two witnesses of good reputation were sufficient for a declaration of guilt by the judges, even in face of the denial of the accused. Under these circumstances accusation was bound to result frequently in condemnation. Once declared a heretic, the accused could choose one of two courses: he could abjure the false doctrine, or remain obstinate in his denial of guilt or in his profession of heresy. If he recanted, a suitable penance was imposed. It consisted either in the performance of some pious observances, the wearing of yellow crosses on the outer garment, or imprisonment. If the person declared a heretic by the Inquisition remained obdurate either in denial of his guilt or profession of heresy, the Inquisition did not condemn him to death, but merely withdrew the pro-

tection of the Church and handed him over to the secular power. The legal punishment of death at the stake was now inflicted by the state except when the heretic recanted at the last moment. In such a case his punishment was, at least at times, commuted to life imprisonment.

231. The Punishment of Heretics.—Severe punishment was decreed in ecclesiastical law against heretics and their abettors. Any one who knowingly harbored a heretic was to suffer the loss of his property. The house in which a heretic was detected was to be demolished and the ground confiscated. The uniform punishment inflicted on obstinate heretics soon came to be death at the stake. This penalty was derived from the Roman Law which, on the one hand, imposed death for high treason and, on the other, burned alive the Manicheans, members of an early heretical sect.

The heretics of North Italy and South France, against whom the Inquisition was established, held views similar to those of the Manicheans. It was consequently natural that, among the various forms of capital punishment, death at the stake should be adopted as the punishment for heresy. As early as 1224 the Emperor Frederic II framed a law for Lombardy, according to which heretics were to be burned to death or at least to have their tongues cut out. This was of course merely a civil law, but it was shortly after accepted by the papacy and the infliction of the death penalty was sanctioned by the Church. The ecclesiastical authorities did not, indeed, execute the heretics, but they handed them over to the civil power for capital punishment.

232. Character of the Inquisitors.—The Inquisition, originally an episcopal institution, took on a monastic character in 1231 when Pope Gregory IX transferred it to two newly founded religious Orders, the Franciscans and, particularly, the Dominicans. While the bishops still exercised some control over it, the inquisitors were usually chosen from among the members of these religious Orders. Several reasons and excellent qualifications commended them for

the office. Both Franciscans and Dominicans, although of recent institution, enjoyed in the highest degree the favor and confidence of the people. They were distinguished for their religious zeal and ecclesiastical learning. They vowed the practise of poverty in its greatest perfection and were less accessible to the influence of pecuniary advantage or worldly motives. Generally speaking, the inquisitors were in reality men of spotless character. They led saintly lives, and not a few of them have deserved to be canonized by the Catholic Church. Not only were they saintly in conduct, they were also usually wise in judgment. It is true that the Inquisition and its officials have been vehemently assailed and violently denounced. The general abuse heaped on institution and men is, however, not deserved. Here, as in many other instances, the blemishes, defects, and evils are alone spoken of, the good features of the system and its excellent officials are ignored. Some inquisitors undoubtedly displayed excessive zeal, used harsh measures, and too readily pronounced the terrible sentence of guilt in heresy trials. Their blameworthy actions and unfair proceedings must be condemned, but it must be remembered that this condemnation should not be so extended as to include the Inquisition itself as an institution, or even the general methods which were used to attain its ends—methods which were indeed in entire accordance with the laws of the period. As for those officials of the Inquisition, few in comparison with the total number of those in whose hands lay its administration, who at times overstepped the bounds of zeal, of prudence, and even of justice, we must judge them as persons guilty of transgressing the ordinances of the Church and state, which were intended to govern and direct their judicial proceedings. Far from being guilty with them, the Church did its best to safeguard the justice of the administration of the Inquisition.

233. The Use of Torture and the Inquisition.—A feature which gave the administration of justice in the Middle Ages a character of barbarous cruelty was the use of the

torture. It was employed to elicit the truth, to extort confession, rather than as a mode of punishment. Both ecclesiastical and civil authorities had recourse to it. The torture was, however, not of ecclesiastical origin and was even forbidden for a long time in the Church's courts.

Authorization to use it in inquisitorial trials was granted only in 1252, with the limitation that it should be applied only once to the same person. Some inquisitors, however, soon quibbled about the restriction and disregarded it entirely in practise. They applied different kinds of torture, using each kind but once; or they applied the torture for every new piece of evidence they obtained. They even went so far as to use it on different days and to call these repetitions the continuation of the first application. Among the forms of torture in use was the rationing of the alleged heretic so as to starve him into confession, or the extension of his body in the rack, or again the tying to a rope and raising him by means of a pulley to a considerable height and suddenly dropping him, with a jerk, to within a few inches from the ground. The result of such torments frequently was that the victim, even though innocent, declared himself guilty in order to obtain temporary relief. Any confession of guilt proved agreeable to the inquisitors. Taking its sincerity for granted they looked upon it as the beginning of the culprit's conversion. They had been instrumental, so they held, in bringing about a man's salvation, and, for such an end, they considered any means, not in itself bad, as justified.

234. Countries in which the Inquisition was established; the Spanish Inquisition; Number of Victims.—The Inquisition flourished particularly in central and southern Europe. It was never introduced into Scandinavia, and was used in England only at the trial of the Knights Templars. In Spain it had already fallen into disuse in 1480, when it was reorganized at the solicitation of the civil government. The institution thus reestablished with papal sanction is specifically known as

the Spanish Inquisition and was transplanted to the Spanish-American colonies. While it did not differ essentially from the Inquisition as it existed in other countries and bore like them an ecclesiastical character, it was nevertheless an institution in which the Spanish government played always an important and frequently a preponderant part. The Popes at times insisted on greater leniency in its proceedings, and less harshness in its punishments; but the inquisitors too often heeded the wishes or behests of the reigning king of Spain and ignored the directions and censures of their ecclesiastical superior in far-off Rome.

The inquisitors were chiefly bent on bringing about the heretic's conversion and salvation, as is evidenced by the fact that they displayed greater severity in applying the torture than in pronouncing condemnation. It is true that, to some non-Catholic writers, no figures seem too high in their estimates of the Inquisition's victims. One historian writes that over 100,000 persons were punished by the institution in Spain alone in a period of fifteen years. Such figures are, however, palpably false and usually originate in the fertile brains of authors hostile to the Catholic Church. It is impossible to present any general statistics of a reliable nature; but it is certain that only some of those found guilty of heresy were delivered up to the secular arm and executed. In one French town, concerning which accurate information is at hand, one out of every thirteen, and in another, one out of every twenty-two, heretics suffered the death penalty. In an age when cruel punishment was inflicted for small offenses, such a proportion of executions, for the worst crime of the day, cannot have appeared excessively high.

235. Conditions accounting for the Existence and Severity of the Inquisition.—In order to judge fairly either the Inquisition in general, or the Spanish Inquisition in particular, it ought to be remembered that supernatural faith does not consist in opinions changing with one's varying and

conflicting moods, but is a firm belief in a well-defined body of doctrine. The true faith is, moreover, a divine gift more precious than life itself, and perishes with the deliberate and obstinate rejection of a doctrine taught by the infallible authority of the Catholic Church. This authority has jurisdiction over all those who, through baptism, have become members of the society which it rules. As the civil power imposes at times unpleasant duties and heavy services on its citizens, so also the ecclesiastical authority has the right to admonish and punish the faithful. It was over these, over baptized persons, and never over the unbaptized (Jews or pagans), that the authority of the Inquisition was exercised. It must be observed also that in the eyes of the medieval public there could be no exception to the principle: once a Catholic always a Catholic. People in those days found it impossible to understand that a baptized person could be honest and sincere in denying any doctrine imposed by the Church.

In punishing heretics the Church went so far as to sanction, though never to inflict, capital punishment. This was partly due to the fact that, on the one hand, heretics imperiled the faith of their fellow-men, and that, on the other, the medieval heresies frequently endangered the very existence of the state. The Albigenses, against whom the Inquisition was organized, commended suicide and denounced marriage and the bringing forth of children as evil. The state had to take the sternest measures to uproot such views and prevent their spread. Excesses were, it is true, committed by the Inquisition; but where is the human institution free from all abuse? The penalties, it must be admitted also, were terrible and appear to us cruel and barbarous, but medieval laws were much more drastic than ours and imposed immeasurably heavier punishment, as when in France the theft of a loaf of bread was punished by the loss of a limb. Moreover, we repeat, the penalties, when it was a question of corporal punishment, were always inflicted by the state. Greater tolerance is indeed in evidence today, but that is not always a proof of a wider practise of Christian char-

ity; it undoubtedly also points to greater religious indifference because of the changed relations of Church and state today. At any rate, this tolerance was not introduced by Protestantism, which is so prone to bring against the Church baseless charges and unfounded accusations; to quote a Protestant historian: "To the great humiliation of the Protestant Churches religious intolerance and even religious persecution unto death were continued long after the Reformation. In Geneva the pernicious theory was put into practise by state and Church, even to the use of torture and the admission of the testimony of children against their parents, and with the sanction of Calvin."[1]

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THIRD EPOCH

From the End of the Crusades to the Protestant Revolt (1270–1517).

236. General Statement.—The epoch extending from 1270 to 1517 is sometimes called the period of the formation of Modern States or, also, the period of the Renaissance. While it is usually reckoned as a part of the Middle Ages, it is in reality a time of transition from the Medieval to the Modern Age. The characteristics of the Medieval world, such as childlike faith and deep religious sentiment, have disappeared, while the traits of individualism, worldliness, and selfishness, so prominent in the Modern Period, appear and grow. The following general features mark the epoch:

1. In the department of government, the decline of the papal and the growth of the royal power.

2. In politics, the growth of nationalities and the formation of national states, especially in France, England and Spain.

3. In intellectual pursuits, the revival of classical studies.

4. In the scientific world, inventions and discoveries of inestimable value.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PAPACY: RESIDENCE AT AVIGNON, THE GREAT SCHISM

I. Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) and King Philip IV the Fair (1285–1314)

237. Boniface VIII, Philip the Fair and the Taxation of Ecclesiastical Property.—In the conflict between papacy and empire the Popes had successfully vindicated the rights of the Church and the independence of the Holy See. They had triumphed completely over the emperors, but had achieved their success with the support of the French kings. It was with these rulers that Boniface VIII became involved, toward the end of the thirteenth century, in a new struggle regarding the respective rights of the civil and of the ecclesiastical authority. He attempted to exercise that power over princes which Gregory VII had claimed and Innocent III had acquired. But, in his assertion of papal supremacy, he left out of consideration both the change in the temper of the times and the strength of the forces arrayed against him. As a result his policy was an almost complete failure, and with his reign clearly begins the decline of the medieval power of the papacy.

Boniface, who has been called the last of the Medieval Popes, was of noble birth and commanding presence; he was experienced in the conduct of affairs and skilled in both ecclesiastical and civil law. His chief aim was the restoration of general European peace preparatory to the organization of a Crusade. The most serious obstacle to the realization of his project was the war then in progress between King Philip IV the Fair of France and King Edward I of England. Boniface mediated between the two sovereigns, but had little success in effecting a reconciliation. He then resolved on

an effective means of bringing the war to an end. As the two monarchs derived the funds necessary for its prosecution largely from the taxes levied on ecclesiastical property, he forbade, on the one hand, laymen to accept, and on the other, ecclesiastics to give up Church revenues without the permission of the Holy See. The prohibition, which was to be observed under pain of excommunication, was contained in the Bull "Clericis laicos" and roused opposition in England and particularly in France. King Philip the Fair retaliated and published a decree in which he forbade the exportation of gold, silver, and precious metals from his kingdom and the sojourn of foreign merchants within its confines. This measure hit the Holy See with particular directness, as a large part of its revenues was derived from France. The Pope, in order to mollify the king, declared that the prohibition of the "Clericis laicos" did not extend to ordinary feudal dues, nor to financial assistance granted by ecclesiastics to the civil power in time of need. In other ways also, notably by the canonization of Louis IX, Philip's grandfather, he showed his spirit of conciliation and his desire for peace. His well-meant efforts were crowned with success. The French government abandoned the measures it had taken against the Holy See, and in 1298 complete harmony seemed to be restored between France and Rome.

238. New Conflict between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair.—Pope and king were to remain at peace only for a short time. It could not be otherwise, as they differed too radically in their attitude toward the important question of the relations between Church and state. The Pope held fast to the ecclesiastical rights and political power which he had inherited from his predecessors. The king wished to be free from all restraint and to carry on the government without any regard to ecclesiastical authority. He had even formed the plan of establishing a universal empire in which the Pope would be no more than a Church dignitary, subject to the authority and maintained by the money of the state.

How little Philip the Fair respected in fact the rights of the Church became daily more evident from the information and complaints forwarded to Rome. In 1301 a papal legate was sent to France to make remonstrances on this score and to promote the organization of a Crusade. The king had the envoy arrested, tried, and condemned on an unfounded charge of high treason. Boniface VIII, indignant at such high-handed proceedings, revoked all the privileges previously granted to the king, demanded the release of the papal legate, and summoned the French bishops to a council in Rome. At this prospective assembly, measures were to be taken to put an end to the oppression of the French Church, and means discussed to effect the reform of king and kingdom. Philip himself was cited to Rome to answer the charges against his conduct. The king, far from showing signs of repentance, acted in absolute defiance of ecclesiastical authority. He suppressed the papal letter addressed to him and substituted in its place a forged document which curtly and peremptorily asserted his subjection to the Pope in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. This declaration, deliberately and falsely attributed to Boniface, aroused a storm of indignation in France, and won the nation over to the king's side. In order further to strengthen his position, Philip convoked in 1302 the first States General ever held in France. So far it had indeed been customary for the kings to consult the representatives of the clergy and nobility; but the representatives of the people, or Third Estate, were now for the first time admitted to the councils of royalty. The States General approved, as was expected, the king's policy.

In the face of such national feeling, Rome tried to smooth matters over, but without success. It sought to explain that kings and princes are subject to the Pope in their government only in so far as the temporal matters, over which they exercise control, are connected with spiritual things. This interpretation, however, only added fuel to

the flames. Accusations of most abominable and even impossible crimes were brought against Boniface by Philip's counsellors. He believed, it was charged, neither in Transubstantiation nor the immortality of the soul, forced priests to violate the secret of confession, practised simony, idolatry, and magic, was addicted to immorality, and used a demon as his counsellor. Boniface had taken up his summer residence in his native town, Anagni, when he was informed to what extremes the French government had gone. He took a solemn and public oath that he was innocent of the crimes imputed to him, and was about to excommunicate the King of France, when a tragic event gave an unexpected turn to the bitter contest.

239. Boniface VIII is taken prisoner at Anagni; His Death (1303).—Philip the Fair was determined to prevent or nullify at all costs the impending sentence of excommunication. The plan, which had long since been formed, of ending the struggle by seizing the pontiff's person and carrying him off to France, was now put into execution. William of Nogaret, one of the king's agents, and Sciarra Colonna, a member of that Colonna family with which Boniface had been engaged in a deadly feud, had already been stirring up, for some months, antipapal feeling in Italy. Nogaret, an unscrupulous lawyer and reckless adventurer, collected about 2,000 fighting men in Tuscany.

On September 7, 1303, he appeared, at the head of this force, before Anagni, captured the town, and broke into the papal castle. Upon hearing of the successful attack by this brutal soldiery, the octogenarian pontiff, thinking that his end was nigh, decided to die as Pope. He ascended his throne, clad in full pontifical robes, the tiara on his head, the keys in one hand and a cross in the other, and thus awaited his enemies. Nogaret and Colonna heaped insults upon him, but probably did not inflict upon him, as has been asserted, personal violence. They held him prisoner for three days, apparently more embarrassed with their victim

than resolved on carrying off the captive pontiff. On the third day the inhabitants of Anagni turned against the invaders, drove them from the city, and freed Boniface. He returned to Rome, where he was received in triumph. He was thus delivered from all danger of physical violence, but his spirit was broken, and he died shortly after from the terrible shock he had received at Anagni (October 11, 1303).

His enemies did not relent after his death, but imputed new crimes to him and endeavored to have him condemned by his successors. They succeeded, not indeed in having sentence pronounced against him, but in obtaining a declaration of innocence in favor of Philip the Fair and William of Nogaret.

II. The Papal Residence at Avignon (1309-1377)

240. Residence of the Popes at Avignon (1309–1377).— After the death of Boniface VIII, the papacy not only abandoned its resistance to the encroachments of the French government, but fell almost immediately under the excessive influence of the French kings. Philip the Fair and his successors could the more easily exert their power on Church affairs as the papal residence was transferred at the beginning of the fourteenth century from Rome to France. This transfer was made by Pope Clement V (1305–1314). He was a native of the south of France, and was not present in Italy at his election. The cardinals who raised him to the throne of Peter at once forwarded to him an invitation to come to Rome for his coronation. Instead of acceding to their wishes he held the ceremony at Lyons amidst a grand display of splendor and magnificence. Clement V never saw Rome, and, after visiting several French cities, chose Avignon as his residence in 1309. With him opens that series of Popes who began and spent their pontificates on the foreign soil of France, and who never, with one exception, appeared in Rome. Avignon for nearly seventy years was the residence of Clement V and his six French successors.

RUSSIAN STATES
Moscow
Kazan
GREAT BULGARIA
Orel
Minsk
Warsaw
Pinsk
Lublin
VOLHYNIA
LITHUANIA
Novgorod
Seral
Astrakhan
Azov (Tana)
(In Genoa)
CASPIAN SEA
Tiflis
Tabriz
DOMINIONS OF THE MALAYRS
Bagdad
Basra
Berlin
Cologne
THE EMPIRE
Brunn
Presburg
Pest
Halicz
MOLDAVIA
HUNGARY
Galatz
Uskub
Brest
Nantes
BAY OF BISCAY
Cork
Cairo
Suez
Jerusalem
Damascus
Tyre
Peleuf
Cyprus
Candia
Longitude 5° East from 10° Greenw

241. Results of the Papal Residence at Avignon.—This transfer of the papal administration to a foreign city was fraught with momentous consequences for Italy and the Church. The affairs and interests of a whole religious world, which up to then had had their centre in Rome, now took their course to a small and practically unknown town on the banks of the Rhône. Rome was deserted, and with Rome all Italy declined. The lawless elements alone flourished, and the extensive estates of the Roman Church passed into alien hands. Greater than the loss in land and property was the diminution in respect and confidence suffered by the bearers of the papal dignity. Till then no one had called the papacy Italian, in spite of its Roman capital and its Italian incumbents. Now it was declared French, and to many persons it seemed to have lost the character of a universal Christian institution. The Vicar of Christ appeared to be no longer the father of all Christians, but a French court bishop. Catholic interests undoubtedly suffered from this protracted absence of the Popes from Rome. The period has rightly been lamented as a sad exile and has been justly compared with the Babylonian captivity of the Jewish people. It came to an end when, on January 17, 1377, Gregory XI, after a solemn entry into the Eternal City, took up his residence in Rome.

III. The Great Schism of the West (1378–1417)

242. Election of Pope Urban VI (1378).—Pope Gregory XI, who had transferred the papal residence from Avignon back to Rome, died shortly after his return to the Eternal City (1378). As most of the members of the conclave which was to give him a successor were Frenchmen, it seemed likely that a French ecclesiastic would be elected to the papacy. The Roman populace, hostile to such a choice, assembled outside the Vatican, the meeting place of the conclave, and demanded the election of a Roman or at

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least an Italian. Under this pressure the cardinals chose a native of Italy, but not of Rome, who took the name of Urban VI. They thus seemed to have acceded to the wishes of the Romans. The announcement that a successful election had been held was immediately made, but the name of the Pope-elect, who was not a cardinal and had not yet accepted the office, was withheld. Various rumors were immediately circulated in the crowd regarding the identity of the new pontiff. Some claimed that the old cardinal of St. Peter's, a Roman, had been elected, while others contended that a foreigner, a Frenchman, had been chosen. In this uncertainty the agitation in the crowd soon became dangerous and its attitude threatening. Stones were hurled through the windows of the hall of the conclave and threats of death were pronounced. Then followed the forcible invasion of the palace by the mob, the wounding of some of the cardinals, and the looting of the building.

One of the ecclesiastics present, fancying that the choice made for the papal office was not acceptable to the populace, invented, in order to pacify it, an expedient which stands alone in the history of papal elections. He falsely presented to the people the Cardinal of St. Peter's as the new Pope. The latter protested in vain against such a stratagem. He was forcibly placed on the papal throne, invested with the papal insignia, and a Te Deum was chanted in the midst of tumult. The cardinal, however, continued to protest that he was not the Pope and cried out the name of the successful candidate, which was finally heard by the crowd and proved acceptable. The cardinals, profiting by a favorable opportunity amid the disorder and confusion of the day, had meanwhile effected their escape from the Vatican and from the danger of being apprehended by the mob.

They subsequently paid homage to Urban VI and added to their election of him their practical recognition of his authority. They openly declared that he was the Pope of their choice, assisted at his solemn enthronement and corona-

tion, and for a few months asked favors of him. In spite of the difficulties and tumult attending his election he was evidently, according to their own clear, unmistakable professions and conduct, the lawful Pope whom they had given as indisputable head to the Christian Church.

243. The Election of a Second Pope, Clement VII (1378). —Urban VI did not realize the hopes which the cardinals had reposed in him. They had raised him to the supreme pontificate because they considered him a foe of vice and ecclesiastical abuses, an exemplary pontiff, and a prudent administrator. Urban VI, however, as Pope revealed himself of a different character. He was indeed the foe of vice and abuses, but he was harsh, imprudent, and overbearing, and treated the cardinals with no tact and little respect. St. Catherine of Siena, who had welcomed his election, soon addressed to him the following words of pertinent and much needed advice: "Holy Father, you should be glad to find some one who helps you to see and avoid such things as might lead to your discredit and the loss of souls: for the love of Jesus crucified, mitigate a little the sudden outbursts to which your disposition gives rise; by all saintly virtues check your natural temper."

Unfortunately the Pope profited but little by this respectful and well-meant admonition. The very appearance of the cardinals in his presence seemed at times to make him angry. Once, in addressing them on a solemn occasion, he began with the gentle and inviting words: "I am the good shepherd," but devoted all the rest of his sermon to a virulent attack on their life and conduct. The cardinal who had crowned him he treated publicly as a madman, and another member of the Sacred College, the very one who was to become his competitor for the supreme pontificate, he called a ribald person. Such treatment would have been borne with difficulty even by saints, and the cardinals did not all belong to this class. Strong opposition to Urban VI soon developed in their midst. Some of them, alleging ill health

and the summer heat as excuses, left Rome and proceeded to Anagni. They soon agitated among themselves the question of the validity of Urban's election. In an insulting letter addressed to the Pope they demanded of him more reasonable views, attributed his election to fear, declared him a usurper and summoned him to abdicate. In September, 1378, thirteen of them—all Frenchmen—met at Fondi and proceeded to a new papal election. Their choice fell on one of their own number, Robert of Geneva, who assumed the name of Clement VII.

244. Division of the Christian World.—Although the election of Urban VI took place under very unusual circumstances, no good reason seemed to exist to doubt the validity of his election. The very cardinals who chose a new Pope had recognized this fact by their previous words and actions. But news travelled slowly at the time, and the Christian nations were but little informed of what had really taken place in Rome. As a consequence the second choice, Clement VII, was recognized by several states as the lawful head of the universal Church. A double papacy was thus established, and Christendom was divided into two camps or obediences. Urban VI and his successors continued to reside in Rome, whereas Clement VII established his headquarters at Avignon. The greater part of the Catholic world remained obedient to Urban VI; but France, Spain, Savoy, Scotland and some German states acknowledged the authority of Clement VII. As the two rival Popes not only maintained their respective positions, but also excommunicated each other and each other's followers, it came about that each part of the Catholic world was, in the estimation of its rival, under sentence of excommunication.

245. Attempts to restore Unity in the Church: the Council of Pisa (1409).—In this lamentable division the Catholic world lived in the hope that, at the death of one or the other of the two rival pontiffs, the schism would come to an end

by the omission of an unnecessary papal election and the general recognition of the surviving Pope. These consoling expectations were not to be realized, however. When Urban VI died in 1389 the Roman cardinals elected a successor and at Clement VII's death, a few years later, his supporters likewise held a new election. As this natural means of putting an end to the discord among Christians proved futile, a second way out of the confusion was tried, namely, a General Council. The holding of a council as a means of healing the schism had been suggested from the very beginning by the University of Paris. This institution exerted at the time enormous influence throughout Christendom as the leading centre of ecclesiastical learning. As time went on and the schism continued, it insisted more and more on the necessity of holding a council to put an end to the division in the Church. Such an assembly met at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It was convoked by the cardinals of the two obediences and held at Pisa in 1409. The two reigning Popes were invited to attend, but they obstinately refused to have anything to do with the assembly. Instead of showing a spirit of conciliation in the interest of religious peace, they too convoked councils, each to a separate city. The Christian world thus beheld the strange spectacle of three so-called general councils being held at the same time.

It was soon to be treated to the no less strange phenomenon of three "popes," one only of whom was the true successor of St. Peter, the other two usurpers, trying to govern the Church simultaneously. For the council of Pisa, instead of improving matters, only made them worse. It pronounced the deposition of the two reigning Popes and elected a new one who called himself Alexander V. The sentence of deposition was entirely disregarded by those against whom it was issued, while the newly elected pontiff claimed the right to rule the Church. He was recognized by some countries, and the council which had met to reduce the number of

the Popes from two to one in reality increased it to three.[1]

246. The Council of Constance (1414–1418).—The council of Pisa was undoubtedly a miserable failure in so far as its immediate result was concerned: instead of restoring peace it increased the divisions. Its effects were, however, not all evil; it had the advantage of pointing the way to the reestablishment of unity. A General Council was to effect the complete suppression of the schism which the assembly at Pisa had in vain sought to heal. This new council was held at Constance, lasted for four years, and was summoned by the Pisan Pope John XXIII at the instance of the Emperor Sigismund. It had the advantage over the Pisan meeting of being convoked by a Pope, and not by the cardinals in defiance of the reigning pontiffs. John XXIII, in summoning it, reckoned on a general recognition of his rights to the tiara by the whole Christian world, and on the rejection of the claims of his two rivals. The sentiment among the members of the council at first seemed to favor this solution, but soon the opinion gained ground that all three Popes should resign or be deposed and a new one elected. Even the presence of a large number of Italian bishops, whom John had brought to the council and upon whom he relied for a vote favorable to himself, did not have the intended effect, for the council decided to discard the system of individual voting and to adopt the vote by nation. The small number of English prelates present had thus equal weight with the numerous Italians. The distrust of John XXIII was soon very apparent in the council. Conscious of this fact, he

[1] The Popes of the three obediences were:

A. Rome	B. Avignon
Urban VI (1378–1389).	Clement VII (1378–1394).
Boniface IX (1389–1404).	Benedict XIII (1394–1422-3).
Innocent VII (1404–1406).	Clement VIII (1424–1429).
Gregory XII (1406–1415).	Benedict XIV (1424–?).

C. Pisa

Alexander V (1409–10).
John XXIII (1410–1415).

D. Ending the schism: Martin V (1417–1431).

twice declared his readiness to abdicate on condition that his opponents did likewise. But even after these declarations, his position was not an easy one amidst the national jealousies and the virulent discussions which stirred the council. His relations with the Emperor Sigismund seemed to become more and more strained and, to escape from such unpleasant surroundings, John XXIII fled in disguise from Constance (March 20, 1415). The news of his secret departure caused consternation for a brief space of time. The excitement soon subsided, however, and the council decided to proceed with its work without the fugitive Pope. It pronounced the latter's deposition, and he submitted willingly to the sentence when he saw that his cause was lost. Shortly after the council had thus eliminated John XXIII, Gregory XII, the third successor of Urban, reconvoked it and recognized it as lawful. This was done in the fourteenth session (July 4, 1415), and from this time on many writers consider the assembly at Constance a legitimate general council.

After he had performed the act of reconvocation, Gregory XII freely offered by proxy his resignation, which was immediately accepted by the council. The famous Benedict XIII thus remained alone in possession of the tiara. To obtain his abdication the Emperor Sigismund proceeded personally to southern France for an interview with the aged pontiff. The interview led to no results, Benedict rejecting the request for abdication. The Spaniards, however, who up to this time had recognized and obeyed his authority, now forsook him and, joining the Italians, the French, the English and the Germans, formed the fifth nation in the council of Constance. The assembly forthwith began proceedings against Benedict and pronounced his deposition (July 26, 1417). The obstinate old man did not submit, although his obedience comprised finally only about 2,000 souls. Undisturbed by the small number of his adherents he declared that as all mankind was in the ark with Noah, so all the Church was with him on the rock of Peniscola in Spain where he resided.

The council, after Benedict had been deposed, proceeded to a new election, and on November 11, 1417, a Pope was chosen, who, in honor of the Saint of the day, took the name of Martin V (1417–1431). The principal task of the council, the restoration of unity, was thus accomplished. Amidst the universal joy of Christendom, Martin V was recognized as the only and lawful head of the Catholic world. It was of no moment that Benedict XIII continued the schism. His few followers formed a negligible quantity among the millions of a reunited Catholic Church.

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CHAPTER XIX

FRANCE DURING AND AFTER THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

I. Name, Causes and Division of the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453); Its First Period (1337–1380)

247. Name and Causes of the War.—The Hundred Years' War designates that period of rivalry and conflict between France and England which extends from 1337 to 1453. The term, although generally accepted in history, is not mathematically accurate, whether the time which it covers be considered or the duration of the actual fighting be taken into account. The war was interrupted by many truces: peace, either real or apparent, reigned for sixty-one years, while fighting was carried on during no more than fifty-five.

The protracted conflict originated from *feudal, commercial, and dynastic causes.* The abnormal situation of a king numbering among his vassals another king, frequently more powerful than himself, had already caused serious trouble for two centuries between the French overlords and their royal English vassals. To the antagonism arising naturally from these feudal relations were added, shortly before the Hundred Years' War, the complications of a dynastic quarrel between two pretenders to the throne of Scotland in which France supported one candidate and England another. As they were opposed in Scotland, so also did the two countries come into conflict in Flanders. The French kings supported the Counts of Flanders, their vassals, whilst the English rulers formed an alliance with the Flemish people, who were aspiring after political independence. The prosperous Flemings had in their hands the monopoly of the cloth manufacture in Europe. But they depended for the

very existence of this industry on the importation of English wool, and, to secure this essential article, they supported Edward III's claim to the French throne.

The controversy regarding the succession began in France in 1328 when the Capetian dynasty became extinct in the male line. Philip the Fair (d. 1314) had been followed in rapid succession, on the throne, by his three sons. The first two of these had indeed left daughters, but the women were set aside and the government handed over on each occasion to a brother of the former ruler. When in 1328 the throne again became vacant, an assembly of the nobility declared that "no woman had any right to the French crown nor could she transmit any such right to her descendants." This exclusion of women from the succession was later called the "*Salic Law*." It annulled any claims that King Edward III of England, a grandson of Philip the Fair on his mother's side, might have advanced to the French throne. A collateral line of the Capetian dynasty, *the House of Valois*, was called to rule over France in the person of Philip VI (1328–1350).

248. Edward III claims the French Throne; the Two Periods of the War.—Philip VI was crowned King of France on May 29, 1328, and summoned Edward III to render homage for his continental estates. The English king, after a slight delay, heeded the summons and acknowledged the authority of his overlord, first with reservations, and then absolutely and without restrictions (1331). He was not to abide, however, by these declarations. In 1337 he repudiated the authority of his suzerain and laid claim to Philip's crown. The result was the Hundred Years' War, which may be divided into two periods: *the first extending from* 1337 *to* 1380, and *the second from* 1380 to 1453. During the first period, France, after suffering disasters so terrible that they brought her to the very brink of ruin, recovered nearly all the possessions held by the English. During the second, she seemed to be doomed, after crushing reverses, to certain

destruction when the appearance of Joan of Arc changed the whole situation and decided the contest in her favor.

249. Comparative Military Status of the Two Countries.—The remarkable successes won by the English during the war were due largely to their superior military organization. Edward III had introduced in England universal compulsory military training. The war was fought by the English nation, whereas on the French side it was merely waged by a class. He had also discarded the antiquated methods of medieval warfare and organized an efficient, well disciplined fighting force. In peace time he had frowned on the ridiculous tournaments and insisted on the practise of marksmanship. The result was that the English bowmen were excellent shots and rendered remarkable services during the war. Less conspicuous were the successes won by the cavalry, which occupied only a subordinate position in the army. The main body and principal source of strength of the English troops was the infantry, which formed about four-fifths of the effectives. Edward III had thus admirably adapted the military establishment to the new needs of the time.

No such transformation and progress had taken place in the French army, in which the recruiting was uncertain, the training ridiculous, the discipline loose, and the class spirit most pronounced. The nobility aimed at the exclusion of the other classes from the service, continued to fight on horseback, and showed nothing but contempt for the infantry. It still placed its sole reliance in individual bravery and neglected training and organization. It was conspicuous by its contempt of death and brilliant feats of arms, but failed to grasp the necessity of exercising prudence and of obtaining practical results. The fact that, despite these numerous and glaring disadvantages, France was eventually successful in both periods of the war finds its explanation in a change of tactics toward the end of the first and the appearance of Joan of Arc during the second period.

250. The Battle of Crécy (1346).—The first important

action of the war was a naval battle fought off Sluys in Flanders. It ended in the destruction of the French fleet and was a complete English triumph (1340). All danger of the war being carried into England was thus averted and safe communication established between that country and Flanders.

No great battle was fought on land until some years later. In 1346 an English army of considerable strength successfully effected a landing in Normandy. It advanced toward Paris, plundering as it went. As the approach to the capital was barred by the troops of Philip VI, it changed its course and went northward toward Calais. The French followed it in pursuit and seemed to have cut off its retreat, shutting it in between the Somme River and the sea. Edward III, however, extricated himself by crossing the Somme unnoticed by the French. A little to the north of the river, he encamped with his army on a gently sloping hill, and, in this favorable position, awaited the attack of the enemy. The French came up to the English positions on Saturday, August 26, 1346, after a fatiguing march. Their command decided to postpone the attack to the following day, but the impetuous and ill-disciplined ardor of the nobility forced an immediate combat.

The battle was no sooner begun than the greatest confusion took place in their ranks and brought about their decisive defeat in a few hours. Their losses were of the heaviest, and included 11 princes, 80 barons, 1,200 knights, and 15,000 squires or footmen killed. Among the dead was John of Luxemburg, the blind King of Bohemia and father-in-law of Philip VI. After this success at Crécy, the first of the three great English victories of the Hundred Years' War, Edward III resumed his march toward Calais.

251. The Siege, Capture, and New Settlement of Calais (1347).—Calais, owing to its harbor and its proximity to England, was of inestimable value to Edward III. He laid siege to it with the firm determination of persevering until its surrender. Prepared for a protracted resistance from its

inhabitants, he built, for the housing and accommodation of his troops, a second town near the original Calais. The commander of the fortress, just as firmly resolved on defense as Edward was on capture, ordered away the women and children and appealed to the French king for help. The latter hoped that successful military undertakings by the Scots, who were also at war with the English, might produce a diversion and force Edward III to abandon the siege. But the Scots lost the battle of Neville's Cross (October 17, 1346), and Edward's position was more favorable than ever. He pressed the siege with vigor and, as Philip VI, in spite of serious preparations for war, never advanced far enough to get in contact with the English army, the fate of Calais was sealed. When its defenders were reduced by famine to the last extremity, the English king summoned them to surrender at discretion. He consented, however, in the subsequent negotiations, to spare the population, if six of the citizens were handed over to him to be dealt with at his pleasure. This concession saved all the inhabitants. Six prominent citizens proceeded to his camp, barefooted, each with a rope around his neck, and clad only in their shirts, ready to sacrifice their lives to save those of others. It seemed at first as if the king would punish them unmercifully, but at the queen's intercession he relented and spared their lives, as well as those of the rest of the population. All the inhabitants, however, with the exception of twenty-two, were expelled and replaced by English settlers. Calais thus became, and for over two centuries remained, not only an English possession, but an English town.

252. Acquisition of Dauphiné by France (1349); Battle of Poitiers (1356).—The loss of Calais was a heavy blow to the French cause, but Philip VI, unfortunate in war, was very successful in negotiations elsewhere. During his reign *Dauphiné*, a part of the former Kingdom of Arles, was incorporated into the French dominions. It was definitively acquired by purchase in 1349, and the name of Dauphin, by

which its rulers were known, was bestowed on the eldest son of the French kings. The territorial losses sustained in the war were not retrieved under Philip VI. The capitulation of Calais was followed by a lull in the fighting, during which both sides prepared for a renewal of hostilities. During this interval Philip VI died (1350), and was succeeded by his son, John the Good (1350–1364). The young king was endowed with excellent qualities, but had an uncontrollable temper, was swayed by inordinate affections, and was, above all, unfortunate as a ruler. The most important event with which he was identified in the war was the battle of *Poitiers* (1356).

Edward, Prince of Wales, known as the "*Black Prince*" because of the color of his armor, was in command of the English forces in the south of France. He had won his spurs at Crécy and possessed remarkable military ability, but was not to live long enough to prove his talent as a statesman in ruling over England. His headquarters were at Bordeaux, where he held brilliant court without forgetting his military duties. In 1356 he marched northward with his troops, ravaging the provinces through which he passed. The French army, under its king, John, advanced to meet him, overtook him in retreat, and attacked him near Poitiers. The prince had taken up a good defensive position, but was forced to fight when outnumbered at least four to one by the enemy. The battle seemed to be decided in favor of the French before it was fought. The same elements, however, which settled the issue at Crécy proved decisive also at Poitiers. Unity of leadership and ably directed fighting again won over the reckless daring and independent efforts of individual commanders. The losses were indeed more evenly divided between the two sides, but the final result was the same as at Crécy—a French defeat. King John himself, after offering heroic resistance, was made prisoner and taken to London.

253. Treaty of Brétigny (1360)**; the Free Companies.**— The French king was treated with distinguished courtesy by

his captors, but naturally desired to conclude peace and to obtain his freedom. A treaty was drawn up in London, but never signed, because its conditions were found unacceptable by the French nation. Peace was to be concluded somewhat later at *Brétigny* near Paris (1360). The treaty stipulated: (1) The renunciation of all suzerain rights by the French Crown over the territories of southwestern France; (2) the cession to England of Calais and extensive territory to the south; (3) the renunciation by Edward III of all claims to the French throne; (4) the payment of a ransom of three million gold crowns for the release of King John.

The conditions of this treaty, with the exception of the last mentioned, were observed until the renewal of the war. In accordance with the agreement concerning the king's person, John was released from captivity and returned to France. However, as the stipulated sum could not be raised, he voluntarily returned as a prisoner to London, where he died a few months later (1364).

The treaty of Brétigny for a time put an end to the war with England, but in reality did not bring peace to France. So-called *Free Companies* continued to plunder and ravage the country, to terrify and kill the inhabitants. These cosmopolitan bodies were composed of professional fighting men who, after the cessation of hostilities, were without occupation and unwilling to engage in any other business but warfare. As long as war was in progress they hired their services to the highest bidder; when peace was declared they supported themselves by pillage and exactions in peaceful districts. They now spread ruin and desolation in France until their welcome departure for Spain.

254. King Charles V (1364–1380); **Most of the English Continental Possessions reconquered by France.**—King John the Good was succeeded on the throne by Charles V, whom posterity has appropriately surnamed the *Wise*. Unlike his two predecessors, he was rather a calculating politician than a brilliant knight. The sight of the burning vil-

lages set on fire by the English merely elicited from him the remark: "All this smoke will not drive me from my kingdom." He used the years following the treaty of Brétigny to prepare for a renewal of the conflict. When hostilities recommenced in 1369, the country was ready for defense, and the king had decided on a new plan of resistance. France had found out by bitter experience how fatal battles fought in the open and on a large scale were likely to be for her.

Charles V, profiting by the lesson, relied on different tactics for success. He fortified the towns, garrisoned them with numerous troops, and issued orders to his generals to avoid, under all circumstances, pitched battles with the enemy. The English forces, in this new method of warfare, were to be worn down by long and useless marches, lack of supplies, disease, and discouragement, while their stragglers and isolated detachments were to be harassed and cut off by French raiding parties. For the execution of this plan, the king chose the famous *Bertrand Du Guesclin*, a man admirably suited for the task. A poverty-stricken nobleman of Brittany, of most unprepossessing appearance, he had, however, demonstrated his military capacity both in his native province and in Spain. The aim in fighting, in his eyes, was to destroy the enemy and not to perform brilliant feats of valor. Without gaining brilliant victories he rendered excellent services to the French cause and reconquered town after town from the English. The inhabitants of Aquitaine, groaning under heavy taxation, welcomed the French as deliverers and facilitated the task of the military forces. Year after year brought new French successes, and at the end of Charles V's reign almost all France had been recovered from the English. The first period of the war thus closed with the advantage on the French side.

II. The Hundred Years' War, from 1380 to 1453

255. Conditions in France from 1380 to 1415.—The war with England was still in progress when Charles V died in

1380. It was, however, pushed with vigor by neither side after his death, and a period of comparative inactivity followed for thirty-five years. Nevertheless, the great advantages gained by France under the late monarch were again completely lost. Charles V was succeeded by his son, Charles VI (1380–1422), who was only twelve years old when he ascended the throne. The ceremony of his coronation was held at Rheims and followed by extravagant and ruinous festivities. Despite the coronation the government was exercised not by the boy king, but by four royal princes, three of them brothers and one a brother-in-law of Charles V. Wanton and frivolous, they spent the public funds for their own pleasures and amusements without regard to the welfare of the state and nation. Their maladministration lasted until 1388, when the king assumed personal charge of affairs. He introduced at once some excellent measures, demonstrated his knowledge of the general needs, and gave practical proof of his care for the public weal. Unfortunately he became a victim of chronic insanity four years later and remained subject to the disease until his death in 1422. As he had frequent lucid intervals he retained his royal power, but could give the realm no consistent administration.

Under these circumstances, the state of France, which was suffering at the same time from internal and external war, was one of unparalleled disorder and indescribable misery. Two parties relentlessly disputed the power in the kingdom: *the Burgundians* and *the Armagnacs*. The former had at their head the king's cousin, the Duke of Burgundy, after whom they have been named. The latter formed the party of the king's brother, the Duke of Orleans, and derived their name from the Duke of Armagnac, who was their principal leader. Although opposed to the king as long as he was in the hands of their opponents, the Armagnacs, after a while, became and remained the royal or national party, while the Burgundians intrigued and allied themselves with the English against France. The resolute opposition between

the two factions led to civil strife; but the war, as long as it was confined to them, was neither protracted nor hard fought. It came to an end or, rather, was merged in the greater war with England in 1415. The Armagnacs were at the time masters of the king and of the capital.

256. The Battle of Agincourt (1415).—England had, like France, suffered from internal troubles at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century and had not been free to pursue a firm policy in foreign affairs. This situation changed with the accession of King Henry V in 1413. Young and resolute, he imposed his rule at home and asserted his putative rights to the French throne. He publicly declared his claims, however, only in 1415 after completing his military preparations for an attack against a divided and helpless France. His declarations were immediately backed up by an army of some 60,000 men which he landed in Normandy at the mouth of the Seine. Through a secret treaty, which he concluded before the debarkation was effected, he had secured the neutrality of the Burgundians in the conflict. The Armagnacs, however, showed the greater ardor to defend the country and earn a title to its gratitude. They rose 100,000 strong against the invader and tried to bar his road to Calais and to destroy him.

That race of the English northward with the French in hot pursuit which preceded Crécy was now repeated with the same result—a battle was fought before Calais was reached. The two armies met at *Agincourt* in 1415 and the English archers, whose arrows wrought deadly havoc in the dense and confused masses of their opponents, again decided the day against France. The French left 10,000 men killed on the battlefield. The leader of the Burgundians was still neutral; the official head of the Armagnacs, the Duke of Orleans, was among the prisoners, and, as a result, the kingdom was at the mercy of the English. They made conquests chiefly in Normandy and carried on negotiations, in which they hoped to reap further advantages, with

both French factions, the Armagnacs and the Burgundians.

In 1420 they concluded with the latter the famous treaty of *Troyes*, which made of France nothing more than an English province. It stipulated peace and marriage: Henry V of England married Catherine, the daughter of Charles VI, and was recognized as regent and heir-apparent of France. After the wedding he made his solemn entry into Paris and was acknowledged as master and ruler by the States General. In 1421 he returned to England, having united, as it were, two kingdoms under one king. Both Charles VI and he died the following year.

257. Accession of Charles VII (1422); **Conditions in France.**—The death of Henry V and Charles VI was attended by a profound change in the political situation. The English king was succeeded by a ten-months-old child, Henry VI, for whom the Duke of Burgundy declined to exercise the regency in France. This office fell, as a consequence, to the boy's uncle, the Duke of Bedford. But English rule was recognized in France only where it could be enforced. Charles VI had left a son who laid claim to the succession of his father's dominions. He assumed the royal title and dignity at Bourges and called himself Charles VII.

Pietistic and irresolute, he was governed more by impressions than by steady judgment. At his accession Englishmen and Burgundians controlled most of France, including the capital, and his own dominions were very restricted. They were formed especially by the territories around the city of Bourges, in which Charles VII frequently resided and from which he was dubbed *King of Bourges*. As he had not been crowned at Rheims, he was also styled the Dauphin. Despite this position of inferiority and the caustic remarks of which he was the target, he was nevertheless a power in France, because he was a national sovereign, a French king born in France. It was to this fact that he owed the strength which enabled him to contest the possession of the kingdom with the enemy from 1422 until extraordinary help came in 1429.

Everything seemed to be hopelessly lost, however, toward the end of 1428. An English army had landed at Calais, had proceeded to the south of Paris, and had laid siege to the important fortress of Orleans, which afforded indispensable protection to the territories still held by Charles VII. The king, in face of the desperate situation, lost courage and began preparations for a flight to Scotland. It was then that Joan of Arc appeared and saved France.

258. Joan of Arc (1412–1431); **Her Character and Mission.**—Joan of Arc, surnamed the "Maid of Orleans," was born on the feast of the Epiphany, January 6, 1412, at Domremy in eastern France. In spite of the presence of Englishmen and Burgundians in the neighboring districts, the inhabitants of her native village had remained intensely loyal to the French king. Her parents, though of humble station, lived in comfortable circumstances and, besides the plain stone cottage in which Joan was born, owned some property at Domremy. Joan grew up, as it were, under the shadow of the parish church, was assiduous in prayer, frequently received the sacraments of penance and the Blessed Eucharist, and was fond of going on pilgrimages to the neighboring shrines. She was modest in her bearing, tall and strong for her sex, possessed a sweet feminine voice, and exercised unusual charm in her intercourse with others. She was leading the simple life of a country girl when in 1425 she was favored with apparitions from heavenly messengers. She heard the "voices" of St. Michael, St. Catherine, and St. Margaret telling her of the pitiable condition of France, and of her mission to deliver the realm from its oppressors.

For three years she heard these loved voices. As time went on they became more insistent; two or three times a week they repeated that she must go to France so that France might be saved by her. Obedient to the call she was led by a cousin to Robert Baudricourt, the royal military commander at Vaucouleurs. She announced to him the approaching deliverance of the realm and revealed how, by

the will of the Heavenly King, she was soon to lead the King of France to be crowned at Rheims. He sent her away with harsh words and the added advice to her cousin to take her to her father for a good whipping. Joan, however, had no rest even after this first rebuff and soon appeared on a second visit to Vaucouleurs. On this occasion she spoke with such determination and conviction that she was listened to favorably. The inhabitants of the town raised the necessary money to buy her military equipment, and, after much hesitation, Baudricourt sent her forward, accompanied by six men-at-arms, on the night of February 25, 1429. It was the time when the plight of Orleans, hard pressed by the English besiegers, filled the whole kingdom with anguish. The little band, headed by the young girl of seventeen, proceeded towards the king's court at Chinon and traversed in eleven days, without mishap, 150 leagues of country infested everywhere by enemy bands.

Upon her arrival at the royal court, Joan asked for an audience with the king, who consented to receive her. To test her alleged divine mission she was introduced into his presence while he mingled, in simple attire, with the courtiers. She instantly recognized him, spoke to him privately, and revealed to him certain secrets. Charles VII treated her with honor, lodged her, and received her frequently. She repeatedly stated to him the twofold mission she had received from God: to raise the siege of Orleans and to effect his coronation. Her claim was ignored in fact, however, until she had been subjected to a searching examination by competent bishops and divines. Having emerged successfully from the test, she was given command of the king's army on March 22, 1429. Before beginning military operations, she summoned the English to conform to the wishes of Heaven and to abandon the siege of Orleans. The English commanders flew into a rage and treated the demand as a piece of unheard-of impudence. On April 27 following, Joan, amidst the singing of hymns, set her

troops in motion and advanced to the relief of the city. The deliverance of France, undertaken and achieved by a simple and inexperienced maiden, had begun.

259. Deliverance of Orleans, May 8, 1429.—Orleans, though besieged, was not completely surrounded by English troops. Nevertheless the sufferings from hardships and privations constantly increased, and the inhabitants were on the verge of losing all hope of relief. On April 30, 1429, Joan of Arc succeeded in entering the place, but the main body of her troops appeared before it only on the fourth of May. In the meantime she inspired new confidence in the defenders, and the attack on the forts built by the English around the city was launched on the very day of her army's arrival.

Before the sun set on that fourth of May one of the English forts had been captured and, on the following day, another was stormed and occupied. New attacks were made on the seventh. In one of these Joan was wounded on the shoulder by an arrow, but continued the fight, spurred on her troops to new efforts, and was victorious everywhere. These rapid successes were so decisive that the English were forced to raise the siege. On May 8, 1429, they began their retreat, while the bells ringing from the church steeples of Orleans voiced the gladness of the inhabitants and announced to the world the city's deliverance.

260. The Coronation at Rheims (July 17, 1429).—After the capture of Orleans, Joan insisted on the king's immediate coronation at Rheims. Her voices pleaded that the ceremony be performed at once. Some of the king's counsellors, however, opposing the plan, caused considerable delay in this instance, and were to hamper seriously, on many occasions, by their jealous intrigues the self-sacrificing work of the heroic Maid. While they were engaged in thwarting her efforts, she won a brilliant victory at Patay (June 18, 1429) over the famous English commander Sir John Talbot, and thus furnished additional proof of her ability to overcome

the enemy and to protect the king. As Charles VII still hesitated even after this success, she left alone for Rheims on June 27. Two days later, the king, overcoming his constitutional irresoluteness and outside interference, decided to follow her. The journey was made successfully through a country infested by Englishmen and Burgundians, and, on July 16, the king entered Rheims in triumph.

The solemn act of the royal coronation took place in the cathedral on the following day, and, during its performance, Joan of Arc stood near the king, clad in her armor and holding in her hand the banner which she had ever kept near her since she had taken up arms in defense of the royal cause. The Maid was now hailed as a divine envoy and deliverer throughout France. She was looked upon as a miracle-worker and venerated as a Saint. She was ennobled by the king and surrounded by all the state and magnificence of a princess. But, amidst these honors, she remained simple, pious, and modest, full of kindliness for the lowly and charity to the poor.

261. Joan is captured at Compiègne (May 23, 1430).—Once his coronation at Rheims had added prestige to the king's authority, a vigorous prosecution of the war suggested itself as the best course, with Paris as the logical point of attack. Joan ardently desired an immediate continuation of the campaign, but time was allowed to elapse and no attack on the capital was undertaken until September. She again led in it, was wounded, and had to be dragged by force from the fight. The struggle proved indecisive and was followed by another delay which lasted for eight months and was due to the selfish intrigues of jealous courtiers.

When the intelligence reached the Maid that the enemy was laying siege to Compiègne she could no longer be restrained and flew to the relief of that place. It was to be her last appearance on the battlefield. In an encounter with the enemy on May 23 she was thrown from her horse and made prisoner. At first held by John of Luxemburg, the Burgun-

dian leader, she was sold by him to the English for the sum of 110,000 dollars and taken to Rouen.

262. The Trial of Joan of Arc.—At Rouen began for Joan that long drawn out martyrdom which was to last for five months, from December 28, 1430, the date of her arrival, to May 30, 1431, the date of her execution. She was not only held as a prisoner, but was enclosed in a cage with a chain around her neck, irons on her feet, and under the guard of dissolute soldiers. Even captivity so severe did not dispel the superstitious terror in which she was held by the English; her death alone could reassure them, and this was resolved upon. As they could not execute her for defeating them, they trumped up charges of heresy and witchcraft against her. The mock trial which followed was used to torture, disgrace, and dishonor the defenseless maiden before delivering her up to the executioner. As she was accused of religious offenses, she was tried in an ecclesiastical court, although she continued to be illegally detained in a secular prison. Peter Cauchon, the unscrupulous Bishop of Beauvais, presided at the sessions and was the most infamous of her judges.

She appeared in court for the first time on February 20, 1431. From this date onward frequent sessions were held, lasting at times for three hours in the morning and as many in the afternoon. The aim of the tribunal was not to find out the truth, but to secure a conviction. It was imputed to the accused as a crime that she had left her home, taken part in battles, and worn male apparel. The apparitions she had seen and the voices she had heard were topics on which the judges plied her with inane and vexatious questions. While she always observed the greatest reserve in speaking of these extraordinary heavenly favors, her answers on other subjects were characterized by simplicity, frankness, and independence. But the proceedings were drawing to a close before any confession of guilt could be wrung from her. Condemnation was, nevertheless, to be pronounced, and a stake was erected in a local cemetery where Joan was to

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hear her fate. Brought here on May 23, she was called upon for the last time to retract, and Cauchon began immediately to read the sentence. Under such terrifying circumstances her courage failed her. Worn out by a year's captivity and by the inhuman methods of implacable judges, she yielded and declared that she preferred retractation to the stake. She was immediately made to sign an abjuration, the exact tenor of which is not known, and instead of a sentence of death, a condemnation to perpetual imprisonment was pronounced against her.

But nothing short of execution would satisfy the English, and they found, of course, a pretext for it. One of her offenses, in the eyes of her judges, had been the wearing of male attire. After her abjuration she resumed it, either to protect her modesty from dissolute jailers or because her female apparel was taken from her. It was enough for her enemies to accuse her of having relapsed into heresy and to reopen the trial. On May 29, 1431, she was examined for the last time. Conscious of her innocence, as of old, and animated with the same courage, she appeared before her judges and retracted her abjuration. But no defense, however sincere or touching, was of any avail; she was unanimously pronounced a relapsed heretic by a tribunal of thirty-seven judges and, as such, was condemned to be given to the flames.

263. The Execution of Joan of Arc (May 30, 1431); **Her Canonization** (May 16, 1920).—On May 30, 1431, Joan of Arc was led to the stake erected on the market-place at Rouen. When the news of her impending death was announced to her in prison, she was overcome by grief at the thought of her tender youth and of the excruciating and undeserved torments in the flames. Accompanied by a Dominican friar, she left on a cart at nine o'clock in the morning for the place of execution. At the stake she courageously declared once more, in the presence of the infuriated English, that her visions were genuine and from

God. She then kissed the Cross and asked that it be held before her in this supreme hour of death. She prayed to the Saints who had summoned her from her home, and expired in pronouncing sweetly the Holy Name of Jesus. The English collected her ashes and threw them into the Seine.

Charles VII, who had accepted her services and profited by her self-sacrificing devotion, abandoned her shamefully in her time of trial. He took no measures and spoke no word in her defense. The infamy which attaches to public criminals was, however, not to stain her name forever. As early as twenty years after her death a revision of her trial was undertaken and resulted in the admission of her innocence and the recognition of her unjust condemnation. Since then the passing years have steadily increased the honor and esteem in which she so rightly deserves to be held, and the Catholic Church has recently placed her among the Saints (May 16, 1920). As St. Louis among men, so Joan of Arc is among women the purest and noblest figure in French national history.

264. End of the Hundred Years' War (1453); Its Results for France.—At the time of Joan of Arc's death vast French territories still remained in English hands, and the reconquest of the country had only begun. But the confidence she had inspired and the memory of her valorous deeds were to sustain and encourage the French armies until their success was complete. The ease with which the early victories had been won dispelled even the king's doubts and misgivings.

The military leaders showed unyielding determination and were never disheartened by temporary setbacks. The Burgundians, too prudent to remain identified with a losing cause, made their peace with the king in 1435. This brought the civil war to an end and united France against the foreigner. Paris, no longer in sympathy with the English, was entered in 1436. Further conquests were made, first in Normandy, where the English were disliked, and then, with greater difficulty, in the south, where popular sentiment was on their

side. In 1453 the city of Bordeaux, intensely English in its sympathies, capitulated, and the Hundred Years' War was at an end. Of their extensive French dominions Calais alone remained in possession of the English. France had undergone frightful devastation and suffered untold misery, but bought at that price her political independence and national unity.

III. France after the Hundred Years' War (1453–1517)

265. France and Burgundy.—Shortly after the conclusion of the Hundred Years' War, France was involved in a new conflict with England's former allies, *the Burgundians*. The fundamental cause of this war must be sought in the rise of a new feudalism in France. The practise of the kings of conferring, in order to strengthen their own power, large estates on their younger sons had for its natural result the creation of a new class of powerful vassals. Relationship was in this new order a guarantee of loyalty; but as years and even centuries elapsed, the kinship between king and lord became more a memory than a reality. The vassals frequently acted as independent potentates, showed little respect for the royal authority, and less care for its interests.

Four great houses of royal origin exercised political power in fifteenth-century France. They were: the House of Anjou, that of Bourbon, that of Orleans and, the most powerful among them, the House of Burgundy. It was against the last named that the kings had to struggle after the protracted war with England. The Dukes of Burgundy were the rulers of two distinct and powerful states: one, Burgundy proper, to the east of France; the other, Flanders and the Low Countries, to its north. Although they did not possess the royal title, they were more powerful than any king in Europe. No more sumptuous or elegant court could be found, and no more abundant resources supplied the wants of any state. The sole weakness of the Burgundian dominions lay in their

geographical separation. The dukes sought to overcome this obstacle to greater power by the acquisition of the intervening territory and the creation of a middle kingdom between France and Germany.

266. Dissimilar Characters of King Louis XI (1461–1483) **and Duke Charles the Bold** (1467–1477).—The rivalry between France and Burgundy became acute particularly in the days of Louis XI and Charles the Bold. In 1461 Louis XI succeeded Charles VII on the throne of France. Before his accession he had been the leader of two rebellions against the king, his father. He possessed no mean qualities as a fighter, but disliked war with its uncertainty and ravages and preferred negotiation instead. An astute and unscrupulous politician, he relied chiefly on corruption as a means of government. His political measures were based on the conviction that everything is purchasable with money, from the loyalty of an impecunious official to the protection of the Almighty and His Saints. He was a past master in intrigue and dissimulation and, because of his all-pervading tissue of intrigues, has been appropriately referred to as the universal spider.

His most illustrious opponent was Charles the Bold, who, even before he became Duke of Burgundy, took an active part in the resistance to Louis XI. Charles was ambitious, industrious and zealous for justice, and has been fittingly compared to Richard the Lion-Hearted. His twofold political aim was the weakening of France and the extension of his own dominions. He did not conceal his design of dividing and dismembering France, but declared in open and sarcastic fashion that he loved that kingdom so well that he wished it six kings instead of one.

267. France and Burgundy at War; Failures and Death of Charles the Bold.—Charles the Bold played a leading part in three coalitions which were successively organized against Louis XI and are known under the general name of League of the Public Weal (1465, 1467, 1472). This term was

applied to them because the confederates, several of whom were vassals of the French Crown, claimed that they were fighting to free the people from the maladministration of an arbitrary king. Louis XI triumphed over these coalitions. He stirred up insurrections and raised enemies against his principal adversary, Charles the Bold. When the latter was forced to sign a truce, the French king inflicted severe punishment on the most powerful of the rebels who had made common cause with the Burgundians.

Charles' decisive defeat was due, however, not to the army of Louis XI, but to the latter's success in intrigue. He stirred up war between the duke and the Swiss Cantons and encouraged an insurrection against him in Lorraine. It was in the fighting which resulted that Charles lost his power and his life. He was utterly defeated by the Swiss in 1476 in two important battles and was betrayed and killed the following year in an attempt to capture Nancy, the capital of Lorraine. On the morning after the combat his body was found frozen in a pond and half devoured by wolves (January, 1477). His dominions were inherited by his twenty-year-old daughter, Mary, who married the Emperor Maximilian I.

268. King Charles VIII (1483–1498) and the Beginning of the Italian Expeditions.—The shrewd and practical Louis XI was succeeded by Charles VIII, a youth of adventurous spirit, vivid fancy, and romantic character. Two important events occurred during his reign: the union of Brittany with the French Crown by the king's marriage with Anne, the last duchess of that province; and an expedition undertaken for the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples. The House of Anjou had possessed rights to the crown of Naples ever since the Popes had conferred the latter on an Angevin prince in the time of the Hohenstaufen. These rights were bequeathed to Louis XI, who, however, did not consider it expedient or profitable to vindicate them. His youthful successor, indulging wild dreams of conquest, adopted a different line of action. Carried away by the spirit and enthusiasm

of an ambitious warrior, he contemplated the capture of Constantinople, the deliverance of the Holy Land, and the restoration of an eastern empire, the crown of which would belong to him. In the execution of this grandiose scheme, the possession of Naples would be, so he held, of invaluable assistance as a point of support and connecting link between East and West. As a result, he resolved, in the first place, on asserting his rights to the possession of Naples.

In September, 1494, he led an army into Italy and encountered no resistance in his march southward. Milan, Florence, and Rome, afraid of his power, received him as a friend. Even in the Kingdom of Naples he met with only a show of resistance, and five months after starting on his expedition he entered the city of Naples in triumph, prematurely acclaimed by soldiers and people as Emperor of Constantinople and King of Jersualem.

His triumph, however, was to be as short as it had been easy. After three months he had to retrace his steps northward, because Milan, Venice, Spain, the Pope, and the emperor had united against him and tried to cut off his retreat. French valor and impetuosity triumphed over all obstacles and enabled him to effect a safe return to France. As he died soon after (1498), he did not realize even the beginning of his dream of world conquest.

269. Louis XII (1498–1515) **and Italy.**—To the claims of Naples Louis XII added claims to Milan. He derived these from his grandmother, a daughter of the Duke of Milan. Shortly after his accession he invaded Italy, captured the reigning duke, interned him in France, conquered his territory and held it for fourteen years.

After these successes in the north, he turned his attention to the south of Italy and organized a new expedition for the conquest of Naples. To overcome Spanish opposition, he agreed with Ferdinand of Aragon on a division of the kingdom: the north was to belong to the French, while the south was to be occupied by the Spaniards. This division was

indeed carried out, but Ferdinand soon attacked and conquered the part seized by the French, and in 1504 Louis XII signed a truce in which he abandoned all rights to Naples.

A few years later the French king was to be involved in another Italian war waged against Venice. He had formed in 1508 with the Emperor Maximilian I the *League of Cambrai* to humiliate the ambitious Republic of Venice. In 1509 the Warrior-Pope Julius II joined the same alliance. Although intensely Italian in sentiment, the pontiff united with foreign powers against the Venetians, because the latter had occupied some of the cities of the Papal States. The soldiers of the League defeated the Venetians at *Agnadello* (May 14, 1509), and Venice sued for peace. The treaty restored to the Pope all the former parts of the States of the Church and enabled him to devote his attention to the general affairs of Italy. As he ardently desired the expulsion of all foreigners from the peninsula, he organized in 1511 the *Holy League* against the French. It included, besides himself, the emperor, Venice, Spain, England, and Switzerland. In the war which ensued, the French army, commanded by the brilliant Gaston de Foix, the young nephew of Louis XII, won at first important successes against the formidable coalition. But this able general lost his life at the battle of Ravenna in 1512, and a reversal of fortune followed. The Swiss defeated the French army at Novara (1513); the Duchy of Milan had to be abandoned, France was invaded in the east by the Swiss and in the north by the English and the Germans. Louis XII, repeatedly defeated and threatened on all sides, signed a truce with the Pope, the emperor, and Ferdinand of Aragon, but, overtaken by death, he had to leave the settlement with his remaining enemies to his successor, Francis I. The latter won the important victory of *Marignano* in 1515 and then concluded a definitive peace. The Duchy of Milan was recognized as a French possession, whereas Naples was to form part of the Spanish dominions. France would thus dominate in the north and Spain in the south of Italy.

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CHAPTER XX

ENGLAND FROM 1270 TO 1509

I. Edward I (1272–1307) and Edward II (1307–1327)

270. Edward I's Accession; Leading Events of the Reign.—When Henry III died in 1272, his son Edward I, who succeeded him at the age of thirty-three, was absent on a Crusade. The news of his father's death reached him in Italy, but did not hasten his return to England. He proceeded by slow journeys homeward and arrived in London in August, 1274. As governor of different provinces he had already acquired valuable experience in administrative affairs, and as king he became remarkable as lawgiver, statesman, and especially as conqueror. The two most striking events of his reign were *the subjugation of Wales* and *the attempted subjugation of Scotland.* They were both the result of the king's design to bring the whole island of Britain under English rule. Not content with extending his dominions, he also strove to strengthen his power at home. In 1279 he issued the famous statute of mortmain, which forbade the gift of land to the clergy because property, in their possession, was no longer liable to the feudal dues. In 1290 he banished the Jews from England, because, although serviceable to himself as bankers, they were hated as usurers by his people.

271. The Conquest of Wales (1282).—The southern part of the Principality of Wales had come under English rule when Edward I ascended the throne; but in the mountainous regions of the north, *Prince Llewellyn* still maintained his independence. Although looked upon as a vassal by the English king, he refused to render the required homage until he was forced to submit in 1276. At the instigation of his brother David, he rebelled in 1282 against his suzerain.

Edward I determined to reduce Wales for ever to subjection and invaded the principality. Llewellyn was killed in resisting the English troops (1282), and shortly afterward his brother David was captured, sentenced to death as a traitor and quartered (1284).

After his success in the war, Edward gave proof of his ability as a statesman. He strongly organized the conquered territory and sought to win the sympathies of its inhabitants. The English administrative system was introduced in part; cities were built in which the English element predominated, and fortresses were erected to prevent or defeat renewed attack. It was in one of these fortresses, Carnarvon Castle, that the future Edward II was born. To win over the hearts of the Welsh, his father gave him a Welsh nurse and surrounded him with Welsh servants. In 1301 he proclaimed him *Prince of Wales*, a title borne to this day by the eldest son of the English kings.

272. The Model Parliament (1295); **The Confirmation of the Charters** (1297).—Despite these measures of conciliation and proofs of good will, the early years of the English occupation of Wales were years of unrest in the country and of anxiety for Edward. The unfriendly character of his relations with France was an additional source of misgivings and danger. In these difficult circumstances, he appealed for support to the whole English nation. He summoned in 1295 the Parliament, which, because it served as model for all subsequent assemblies of the same kind, has become known as the *Model Parliament*. The nobility, the clergy, and the common people were asked to send their representatives to meet the king, and the permanent representation of all classes of society in the English Parliament dates from this time. While it is not certain whether the representatives held their sessions as three separate Houses or as one national body, the distinction between the Lords (Upper House), the Commons (Lower House), and the Clergy was definitely established, for the three orders voted sepa-

rately a large grant of money to the king. The representatives of the clergy subsequently claimed the right to discuss questions of taxation separately in their own meetings or convocations.

The meeting of the Model Parliament was soon followed by an important confirmation of Magna Carta and other Charters (1297). The wars in which Edward was constantly engaged were waged, like all wars, at heavy expense, and the king had had recourse to unusual means of taxation. The clergy and nobility protested against these illegal methods, and, before consenting to the levy of new taxes, obtained a confirmation and extension of the liberties granted in the Great Charter. The new concessions regarded particularly the right of taxation and provided that no customs duties might be levied by the king without parliamentary consent.

273. The Succession to the Throne of Scotland.—Ever since the time of the Norman kings, Scotland had entertained frequent relations with England, and the rapid development of the country was largely due to this intercourse with its more civilized southern neighbor. Towns had been built and town life had softened the manners of the inhabitants. Feudalism had been introduced and had superseded, to some extent, the more primitive clan organization. But feudalism had also given rise to controversies between the English kings and the rulers of Scotland. The former considered Scotland as a vassal kingdom, whilst the latter refused to recognize this state of dependence. When Alexander III, who was King of Scotland from 1249 to 1286, died, the question of English suzerainty gave rise to difficulties. He left as sole heir Margaret, his granddaughter, who lived abroad with her father, the King of Norway. King Edward I, as overlord, asked for his oldest son the hand of the young princess.

The preliminary details for the marriage were satisfactorily arranged; but the "Maid of Norway" died on the ship which was carrying her back to Scotland. A host of pretenders at

once laid claim to the succession. The controversy threatened to throw the country into anarchy and civil war and was submitted for settlement to Edward I's arbitration. Between the two principal claimants, John Balliol and Robert Bruce, he pronounced in favor of the former. John Balliol was crowned at Scone near Perth and began his reign with an acknowledgment of English overlordship.

274. Insurrection in Scotland; First Conquest of the Country (1296).—The succession question had been settled more easily than could have been anticipated; but the extent to which Edward asserted his feudal rights was to cause deep resentment among the Scots. He insisted on the privilege of English law-courts to consider appeals from those of the vassal kingdom. This attitude provoked resistance, but was persisted in. Only a favorable opportunity was needed for the Scots to defy openly the authority of their English suzerain. It was furnished by an alliance which they concluded with France in 1295. With this treaty opens that period of friendly relations between the two countries which was to last for three hundred years.

Relying on French support and emboldened by the difficulties which confronted Edward in newly conquered Wales, some Scottish barons took up arms against him, and John Balliol renounced his homage. The English king took personal command of the army which was to suppress the rebellion. He met the Scottish forces at *Dunbar* and defeated them so decisively that this sole battle made him master of the entire country (April 27, 1296). After receiving Balliol's submission, he advanced into the interior and carried off from Scone to Westminster the stone on which Scottish kings were wont to receive the royal crown. Scotland now seemed to be no more than an English dependency.

275. New Rising in Scotland; William Wallace and Robert Bruce.—The king had hardly left Scotland when a new uprising occurred headed by the Scotch nobleman, William Wallace (1297). Its success was immediate and complete.

The attack was so sudden and bold that the English did not have time to collect sufficient forces for effectual resistance. However, they promptly recovered from their defeat. Edward again placed himself at the head of an army, led it northward, and defeated his enemies in the battle of *Falkirk* (July 22, 1298). Wallace fled to France, but the resistance continued without him. Edward had to spend several years in again reducing the country to complete subjection. The collapse of Scottish power came only in 1304 with the loss of the fortress of Stirling. The following year Wallace, who had returned from exile, was betrayed into the hands of the English, tried as a traitor, sentenced to death, and executed with circumstances of inhuman cruelty. He was dragged at the tail of a horse to the place of execution, where his bowels were torn out, his eyes gouged out, his head cut off, and, to complete the destruction of his human frame, his body quartered.

Edward could again believe that he had subdued Scotland. In reorganizing the administration, he was guided by the respect due to Scottish rights and the consideration of his own interests. Despite this prudent policy, the conquest was no more lasting than that of 1296. The Scottish nation was thoroughly aroused against foreign domination. It again found a national leader in Robert Bruce, who had been a rival of John Balliol for the Scottish throne. In 1306 a new war began in which the Scots were soon favored by a personal change in the English kingship. Edward I died in 1307, leaving his kingdom to an unworthy successor.

276. Edward II and Piers Gaveston.—Edward I's energetic government was followed by the indolent and careless rule of Edward II. The new king had a pronounced aversion for public business, but delighted in pleasure and amusement. During his father's lifetime he had formed an intimate friendship with Piers Gaveston, a native of southern France, who gained a complete ascendency over him. To free his son from the undesirable influence of that nobleman,

Edward I had banished Gaveston from court. Edward II was no sooner on the throne than he recalled and honored with titles and distinctions his favorite friend. During his absence in France, where he went to marry Isabella, the daughter of Philip the Fair, he even appointed Gaveston regent of the kingdom. This preference shown to a knight of foreign birth and inferior rank caused intense dissatisfaction among the English barons. They united under Thomas of Lancaster, the king's cousin, and determined to get rid of the favorite. As in the time of Simon of Montfort, they forced the king to sign ordinances by which he virtually handed over the power to them. They likewise extorted from him a sentence forever banishing Gaveston from the kingdom (1311). But soon tiring of their control and yearning for the return of his favorite, the king recalled the latter in 1312, only thus to become the involuntary cause of Gaveston's violent death. The barons took arms against the hated nobleman, captured him and had him beheaded almost without the semblance of a trial. In spite of his horror of the deed, the king, yielding to the force of circumstances, consented to a reconciliation with the barons.

277. The Battle of Bannockburn (1314); Scotland maintains its Independence.—In his dealings with Scotland, Edward II respected the wishes of his father no more than in his attitude toward Piers Gaveston. The dying Edward I had enjoined upon him a vigorous prosecution of the Scottish war. But Edward II was rather remiss in his efforts to establish English power firmly in the north. He added no new territory to his father's conquests, but lost, on the contrary, one by one the fortresses which were in English hands. Stirling was soon the only stronghold in Scotland left in his possession, and even this last remnant of English power was besieged and about to fall into the hands of the enemy. At this critical juncture, the king collected an army and marched, at its head, to the relief of the distressed city. His troops were numerous, but loose discipline and incompetent generalship caused their defeat. They were

stopped at the stream of *Bannockburn* in their advance on Stirling and completely defeated (1314). The remnants of the army fled southward, the king at the head in the flight as he had been in the advance. Stirling capitulated; but the war dragged on for several years after its surrender.

In a later expedition, Edward II narrowly escaped being captured by the Scots. Perceiving the uselessness of his efforts against the Scots, he signed in 1323 a truce for thirteen years in which he practically recognized the independence of Scotland.

278. New Rule of Favorites; the Despensers; Edward II's Deposition (1327).—The humiliating defeat of Bannockburn had still further discredited the person and weakened the position of Edward II. The barons, instead of the king, for several years governed the country. But Thomas of Lancaster, their haughty and egotistical leader, neglected nothing to render himself and his rule unpopular and detested. Conspicuous in the opposition to his misgovernment were the two Despensers, father and son, who worked with the king for Lancaster's overthrow. In the armed struggle which followed, the latter was defeated, captured, and beheaded (1322). The power passed for four years into the hands of the Despensers. But while they were incautiously abusing it by enriching themselves and ruining the state, their own downfall was preparing in France.

Numerous enemies of theirs had fled to the French court after the defeat of Thomas of Lancaster. They freely intrigued against Edward and his favorites and succeeded in winning his wife over to their side. Queen Isabella organized in France an expedition against her husband and landed in 1326 in England to rid the country, as she declared, of the king's favorites. She was hailed as a deliverer and was at once joined by numerous followers. The king fled to Wales, but was captured with his favorites. The Despensers were executed (1326); the king deposed by Parliament (1327). He was detained as a prisoner in Berkely Castle, where he died a mysterious death some months later.

II. The Reigns of Edward III (1327–1377) and Richard II (1377–1399)

279. Edward III's Accession.—Edward III, whose reign was one of the most illustrious in the history of England, came to the throne at the age of fourteen. He could not, owing to his youth, carry on the government by himself, but was constrained to leave it for four years in the hands of Roger Mortimer, his mother's paramour. In 1330 he got rid of this unworthy regent and from that date until almost the end of the reign ruled personally as king, being little influenced by his assistants in the government. Preeminently a warrior, he won signal victories in the Hundred Years' War with France and was also most successful in his wars with Scotland. (See the preceding chapter for a discussion of the Hundred Years' War.)

280. The Battle of Neville's Cross (1346).—A dispute about the succession to the throne of Scotland afforded Edward III, at the very beginning of his reign, an opportunity to interfere in the affairs of that country. It was not until 1346, however, that he won his most brilliant triumph over the Scots. The latter, considering the absence of the best English troops in France a favorable opportunity for an attack, had invaded northern England and proceeded as far as Neville's Cross in Yorkshire. Here they were opposed by hastily collected troops and suffered a severe defeat. Their king, *David Bruce*, was captured, held prisoner for eleven years, and released only when his liberty could no longer constitute a danger to the security of England.

281. The Black Death and the Statute of Laborers (1349).—It was but shortly after Edward III had won his great military successes at Neville's Cross in Britain and at Crécy on the continent that a terrible epidemic, known as the *Black Death*, swept over England. According to a conservative estimate, this scourge reduced the population at least by half and seriously affected economic and labor

conditions in the country. When it made its appearance in 1348, the practise was already prevalent of hiring workingmen at stated wages rather than of accepting personal service in payment of feudal dues. The ravages, caused by the Black Death, reduced very considerably the number of laborers and resulted in a corresponding increase in wages.

As the price of agricultural products and the income of the employers tended downward rather than upward since there was less demand for the goods they put up for sale, a serious crisis disturbed the economic and social life of the English people. Parliament, to solve the problem, passed the *Statute of Laborers* (1349), by which it imposed a scale of wages on the working classes and decreed penalties against anyone demanding a higher salary than the price fixed by law. The statute was stoutly opposed by the laborers and did not prove very effectual in solving the wage problem, but it was maintained in force until Queen Elizabeth's time. Its chief result was to foster antagonism and discord between two classes of society, those who owned the land and those who tilled it.

282. Constitutional Development; The Good Parliament (1376).—Under Edward III the last vestige of the right exercised by the king to tax without the consent of parliament disappeared. From then on the levy of every tax had, according to royal concession, to be approved by the representatives of the nation. Edward's reign was also notable for the definitive separation of the legislature into two houses: *the House of Lords*, composed of the higher nobility and clergy, and *the House of Commons*, made up of the knights of the shire and the representatives of the towns. These constitutional changes belong to the early part of the reign. Toward its end occurred another important development in English constitutional history, namely, the claim advanced by the House of Commons to a voice in the appointment of the king's ministers.

This power over royal officials was first exercised by the

so-called Good Parliament in 1376, owing to the disastrous influence which the king's fourth son, *John of Gaunt*, Duke of Lancaster, had acquired in the government. Edward III, during the later years of his reign, was rapidly declining and losing daily more and more the personal control of affairs. Things were going from bad to worse when in 1376, Parliament, supported by the Black Prince, took a determined stand against the Duke of Lancaster's misgovernment and preferred well-founded charges of dishonesty against two of the royal ministers. The king was forced to dismiss these corrupt officials; but soon after their removal the Black Prince died, and his death was followed by a prompt return to the old abuses. John of Gaunt recalled the dismissed ministers and retained power until the king's death in 1377.

The reign of Edward III thus ended in a very discreditable fashion. The people, however, remembered his services and triumphs rather than his later weakness and inefficiency. The national sentiment which had generously supported him in his wars, continued gratefully to cherish his achievements. It had found expression during the reign in the adoption of the *English language* in the law-courts and in Parliament.

283. Richard II succeeds to the Throne; John Wiclif and Religious Unrest.—Immediately upon the death of the Black Prince in 1376, Parliament, in accordance with popular wish, recognized his son as the successor to the throne. The boy was only ten years old and, at a time when the crown did not necessarily descend in the direct line, owed his selection in preference to his uncles, to the general admiration and esteem in which his late father was held. When he ascended the throne a religious and social revolution was in preparation. The principal cause of the religious unrest was the priest *John Wiclif* (about 1320–1384), who was for a time professor at the University of Oxford and enjoyed to the end of his life powerful protection at court. The favor in which he was held in court circles was not entirely

disinterested, for Wiclif maintained that the power of the king was superior to that of the Pope and that no tribute or dues could be exacted by the Holy See from the English nation. The Church, so he further maintained, should forego the possession of all property, because it causes her corruption and ruin, and should return to the poverty and simplicity of Apostolic times. The Sacred Scriptures were, in his eyes, the highest religious authority, and he insisted that they should be known by every one. To make them accessible to the people, he published them in an English translation. His followers became numerous and were called *Lollards* or babblers. Some of them, known as the "Poor Priests," went about the country preaching the new doctrines. By their declamations against existing conditions, they were partly responsible for the peasants' uprising of 1381. Their errors were condemned at an early date and they themselves were subjected to persecution. But Wiclif, owing to the high protection which he enjoyed, was never condemned, although he was forced to spend the later years of his life in retirement.

284. The Peasants' Uprising (1381).—The unsatisfactory economic conditions, caused by the Black Death, continued for years to cause friction between the landowners and the working classes. The Statute of Laborers (1349) did not improve the situation to any considerable extent, and as the wages remained high, in spite of its provisions, the landlords attempted to reenforce the old system of services required of the peasants for the use of the land granted them. The peasants refused to consent to this restoration of bondage, and trouble was already brewing when the government decreed the collection of a poll-tax from every person over sixteen years of age. The new tax was the signal for an uprising in several parts of the country. The peasants demanded the complete suppression of all labor services and, to obtain satisfaction, marched on all sides upon London.

The insurgents of Kent, with *Wat Tyler* at their head, suc-

ceeded in entering the capital. In a meeting with the king, in which they were asked to state their grievances, Tyler spoke with such insolence that he was stabbed to death by the Mayor of London. His followers swore to avenge their leader, but the king, with calm self-possession and admirable courage, rode into their midst and promised that he would lead them himself and grant redress of their grievances. His cool and conciliatory demeanor saved the situation: the rebels disbanded and returned home. In other parts of the country they were put down with great cruelty by the local authorities.

285. Richard II's Deposition (1399).—Internal peace was restored long before the end of Richard II's reign, although Parliament refused to sanction the promises made by him to the rebels. In his later years, the king became very despotic and extremely unpopular. On the death of John of Gaunt, he confiscated the estates which belonged, by rightful inheritance, to the latter's eldest son, Henry, Duke of Lancaster. Henry, whom the king had previously banished, returned from exile in 1399 and claimed not only his inheritance, but the English throne. The people, longing for a change of government, sided with him, and Richard, abandoned by all, was captured and imprisoned in the Tower. A Parliament was summoned which declared his deposition and recognized the Duke of Lancaster as his successor under the name of Henry IV.

III. England from 1399 to 1509; Her Relations with Ireland

286. The Houses of Lancaster and York come successively to the Throne.—With the deposition of Richard II, the last of the Plantagenets was removed from the throne. His conqueror and successor, Henry IV, began a new dynasty, which, from the ducal title which its founder bore before his accession, was called the *House of Lancaster*. It ruled England for a little over sixty years (1399–1461) and during

that time was represented on the throne by three kings, who all bore the name of Henry.[1] It was succeeded by the *House of York*,[2] which, after a period of twenty-five years (1461–1485), had to yield its place to the dynasty of *the Tudors*. Under the rulers of the House of Lancaster, the Hundred Years' War with France was brought to an unsuccessful conclusion. In internal affairs, unrest, conspiracies, and rebellions marked the reigns of the Lancastrian kings and their Yorkist successors. Henry IV had been supported in his royal pretensions by the people and had been proclaimed king by the Parliament. Nevertheless he had used force to deprive Richard II of his crown and placed it on his own head. This proceeding was soon denounced as downright usurpation by those who became dissatisfied with the new government. As early as January, 1400, an uprising took place in favor of Richard II. It was suppressed by the people rather than by Henry himself, and, a little over a month after its failure, Richard II died in his prison. He was said to have starved himself to death, but, was in reality, most probably starved by his keepers. In spite of his death the intrigues against the new king continued throughout the reign and helped to undermine his health and probably to hasten his death.

287. The Statute decreeing the Burning of Heretics (1401).—The Lollards, at the beginning of Henry IV's reign, had already lost in number and influence. They were, however, still strong enough to cause harmful division and serious trouble in the realm. Henry, far from imitating his father, John of Gaunt, in his friendly attitude toward them, relied for support on the Catholics and was a resolute opponent of the Lollards. They had already incurred ecclesiastical condemnations and censures, but no civil penalties had as yet been visited upon them. In 1401 a statute,

[1] The three Lancastrian kings were: Henry IV (1399–1413), Henry V (1413–1422), and Henry VI (1422–1461).

[2] The kings of the House of York were: Edward IV (1461–1483), Edward V (1483), and Richard III (1483–1485).

directed against them, decreed that any person found guilty of heresy should be committed to the flames. This mode of punishment had been in use for a considerable time in continental Europe, but the statute just mentioned introduced it into England and was the first English law especially enacted for the repression of religious error. In reality only a small number of Lollards were burnt at the stake; others retracted when summoned to do so, and the sect itself had become rather unimportant at the end of the fifteenth century.

288. Henry V and Henry VI; Origin of the War of the Roses.—In spite of the conspiracies which troubled Henry IV's reign, his son Henry V, one of the most successful and popular kings of England, quietly entered upon his father's succession. The opposition to the Lancastrian dynasty, however, was not dead, but showed itself in armed, though useless, resistance in the new king's reign. The latter's chief merit to glory lies in his success in foreign affairs. He won the remarkable victory of Agincourt and had himself recognized, by solemn treaty, as regent and heir-apparent of the French kingdom. In practise, however, this recognition produced no lasting results, for his son's reign was just as disastrous as his father's had been glorious.

Under Henry VI, all the French territory, excepting Calais, was lost, and conditions in England became very unsettled. This was partly due to the fits of insanity which the king seemed to have inherited from his grandfather, Charles VI of France. To carry on the government during his mental affliction, Richard, Duke of York, was appointed Protector of the kingdom. But power once tasted is not always readily given up: a bitter contention for the throne followed between the House of Lancaster and the House of York and culminated in a most destructive civil war, called the Wars of the Roses.

289. The Wars of the Roses (1455–1485).—This war received its name from the badges worn by the two con-

tending parties. The House of Lancaster wore a red rose, while the supporters of the House of York chose, as their emblem, the white rose. The conflict divided the English kingdom into two almost equal parts, the north chiefly defending the Lancastrian cause and the south siding mainly with the House of York. It was a struggle between persons and factions, and not a question of issues and principles. Two parties representing each a section of the English nobility fought for power and influence. The battles were numerous as were also the executions, devastations, and acts of treachery. The first leader of the Yorkists was slain in battle, while the Lancastrian Henry VI succumbed to assassination. The most revolting crime was perpetrated by Richard III of York against members of his own house. He secured the crown through the assassination of two children, his nephews, in 1483.

One of the best known leaders of the war was the *Earl of Warwick*, surnamed the king-maker. He supported first one side and then the other, as his own interest and that of his family dictated. Although the extent of his influence is probably exaggerated in the above-mentioned surname, he was undoubtedly a powerful leader who fought successfully in many battles, notably in the bloodiest of them all, that of *Towton* in 1461. He was slain on the field of Barnet ten years later. The war continued after his death and ended only in 1485 with the battle of *Bosworth Field*. At Bosworth the infamous Richard III was slain, while Henry Tudor won the victory and secured the crown.

290. Result of the Wars of the Roses; Reign of Henry VII (1485–1509).—Soon after the battle of Bosworth, Henry VII united in his family the rights of the Lancastrians and the Yorkists. He had inherited the claims of the former from his mother and secured those of the latter by his marriage with Elizabeth of York in 1486. Nevertheless, attempts were made by impostors to deprive him of the crown. The most famous of these was a young Fleming,

Perkin Warbeck, who pretended to be the genuine representative of the House of York. Supported by France and Scotland, he landed on the English coast and appealed to the inhabitants for support against the king. Joined by only a few unenthusiastic followers, he was captured, imprisoned in the Tower, and, a little later, delivered up to the executioner in punishment of his rashness.

Such stern repression of all resistance consolidated Henry VII's dynasty on the throne. With this reign the great power which had been exercised for a considerable period by Parliament came to an end, and the absolute rule of *the Tudors* was imposed on England. The results of the wars of the Roses powerfully contributed to the introduction of this important change. The nobility had been decimated in that struggle and its estates subjected to frequent devastations. The class was not powerful enough, either in membership or wealth, to oppose the will of an energetic king, or even to defend its rights against royal oppression. The trading classes, which were acquiring increasing importance, were ready to support a government which promised to restore and maintain internal security. The energetic Tudors profited by these favorable circumstances to impose their will and policies on the nation.

Henry VII not only maintained internal tranquillity, but also promoted external peace. He laid the foundations of the power and greatness of the modern English state. Commerce and industry were encouraged during his reign, and the economy and thrift practised in the administration enabled the king to leave after him well-ordered finances and a full treasury. The conclusion of marriages by his children with members of reigning houses enhanced the honor and esteem in which the country was held. His eldest daughter Margaret married King James IV of Scotland, while his son Arthur became the husband of Catherine of Aragon. Catherine belonged to the royal house of Spain, and Spain was then the leading nation of Europe.

Cold in temperament, unlovable in character, and absolute in the use of power, Henry VII was nevertheless looked upon by his subjects as a beneficent ruler, because, after a long period of suffering, he had brought relief to a distracted country.

291. The English in Ireland; the "Pale."—The English King Henry II, it will be recalled, had made a successful expedition to Ireland and subjugated a part of the country. After him, numerous Anglo-Norman lords settled in the island. The authority of the English kings was, nevertheless, hardly recognized. It was acknowledged in some ports of the eastern and southern coasts, notably in Dublin and the surrounding country. This territory under English control was marked off inland by a dyke and became known as the *Pale*. In it the language, customs, laws, and sentiments were English. Beyond it the title of "Lords of Ireland" borne by the English kings meant but little. The Anglo-Norman lords rendered certain feudal services to the Crown, but the native chieftains who held most of the territory considered themselves completely independent and were constantly engaged in private wars. Their feuds had first made the English occupation possible and were now responsible for its continuance.

292. The Statute of Kilkenny (1367).—The presence of the foreigner added a new element of discord. To the hatred existing between the clans was added the racial antagonism between English and Irish. Occupying the same soil, they were kept apart by different institutions and unconquerable prejudices. The English were governed by their own laws, interpreted and applied by royal judges; the Irish were ruled according to their code interpreted by the Brehons. In the eyes of the English who did not recognize the Celtic code, the Irish came under the protection of no law whatever. So true is this that an instance is on record where an Englishman was acquitted of murder on the plea that the person whom he had killed was a mere Irishman.

Under such circumstances the fusion between the two races was of course impossible. The famous *Statute of Kilkenny* (1367) not only sanctioned, but imposed absolute separation between them. Under pain of death Englishmen were forbidden to marry into Irish families, to receive Irishmen into their homes, to engage in trade or even conversation with them. Under the less severe, but nevertheless drastic penalty of confiscation they were prohibited from adopting Irish customs or names, from entertaining bards or employing Irish workmen on the plea that these two classes were so many spies. The separation extended even to the respective churches: an English priest was not allowed to exercise his functions in Celtic territory and an Irish clergyman could not officiate in the Pale.

293. Tudor Policy in Ireland; Poynings Act (1494).—The Statute of Kilkenny undoubtedly fostered opposition and maintained separation between the members of the two races. It did not prevent the assimilation and absorption of numerous English families who had settled in Irish territory. It could not prevent it, because the settlers were too few, too scattered, and too long abandoned to themselves by the mother country. The English government for a considerable time paid little attention to Irish affairs owing to the troubles of the Hundred Years' War and the disturbances of the Wars of the Roses. Its officials could exercise but little power and depended for any respect given to their authority largely on Irish good will. Under the Tudor dynasty this was to be changed. Its very first representative, Henry VII, adopted a stronger policy. He sent to the island in 1494 Sir Edward Poynings, who signalized his advent by enforcing the Statute of Kilkenny and by publishing an Act which still goes under his name, and which in all things subjected the Irish Parliament to the English Lord-Lieutenant and his council.

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CHAPTER XXI

SPAIN, GERMANY, ITALY, AND THE EAST

I. Spain

294. Spain from 711 to 1002.—The Visigothic kingdom, weakened by discord and misrule, fell an easy prey to Arab attack in 711. With its last King Roderic it then disappeared from history; his dominions were quickly overrun by the conquerors, and the native inhabitants either accepted Mohammedan rule or fled into the mountainous districts of the north. Those who remained in the conquered territory were called *Mozarabs* and were allowed, during the early period of Moslem domination, to practise, with little interference, their Christian religion. They were subjected to a poll-tax and ruled by foreigners, but were not compelled to accept the religion of the Prophet.

This condition of comparative freedom was unfortunately followed in the ninth century by a period of violent persecution. Numerous Christians sealed their faith with their blood; others renounced the true religion and adopted Islamism. Owing to persecution, environment, and material inducements, the Mozarabs disappeared almost entirely during the prolonged period of Mohammedan occupation. In the tenth century even the Christian states of the north were so constantly harassed that they seemed to be threatened with annihilation. They obtained relief in 1002 when they united against their most formidable enemy, the Arab general Almanzor, and crushed his power.

295. The Reconquest of Spain from 1002 to 1212.—The defeat and death of Almanzor were followed by the rapid decline of the Moslem state of Spain. Ever since its establishment, it had suffered from dissensions caused by differences of race among the conquerors and by the inordinate ambition of rival leaders. Discord among their

neighbors was the opportunity of the Christians, although they also were divided among themselves and unable to put forth all their strength against the invader. For three hundred years their struggle was more one of successful defense than of aggressive reconquest. In the eleventh century they wrested from the enemy important and extensive districts. The Kingdoms of Asturia and Aragon formed the principal centres in which the attacks were prepared, expeditions organized, and from which raids were carried out. The national hero of this chivalrous age of Spanish history is Rodrigo Diaz, better known as the *Cid Campeador* (1040–1099). However, he owes his popularity more to romance and legend than to real merit. Poetry has depicted him as a model Christian knight, noble, generous, gentle, and courageous; whereas he was, according to all reliable information, a brilliant and daring soldier indeed, but also an adventurer prepared to battle with equal readiness against either Christian or Mohammedan. The capture of the modern Spanish capital, Madrid (1083), and the reconquest of the ancient city of Toledo (1085) were effected without him; but fighting on his own account in 1094, after prodigies of valor, he drove the Moors from Valencia. After his death a few years later, the ruined city was again abandoned to the infidels by his widow.

The successes of the eleventh century were continued in the twelfth. Large territories were reconquered and again placed under Christian rule. Out of the western districts the independent Kingdom of Portugal was created in 1140. The city of Lisbon, freed from Moslem domination in 1147, became the capital of the new state. But the crusading ardor which had produced such remarkable results was on the wane when Innocent III ascended the papal throne (1198). The great pontiff inspired the warriors of the Cross with new courage, sent them reenforcements, and prepared the most powerful army that had yet attacked Islamism in Spain. The victory of *Las Navas de Tolosa* (1212),

which secured forever the preponderance of Christianity in the country, was the fitting reward of the Pope's efforts in behalf of the true religion. By the middle of the thirteenth century the Moors had lost all their Spanish possessions, with the exception of the small and naturally protected Kingdom of Granada.

296. Gradual Establishment of Spanish National Unity.— The Christians, who had fled from the Mohammedan danger to the mountain fastnesses of the north, formed four independent kingdoms: Asturia, Navarre, Aragon and Catalonia. In the resistance which they offered to Moslem advance, the Kingdom of Navarre first attained the leadership. But it soon fell to a secondary position and came with Catalonia, owing to its geographical position and dynastic relations, under Frankish influence. The friendly relations entertained by the two states with France resulted in the introduction of feudal ideas into Spain and the partial identification of the history of Navarre and Catalonia with that of their northern neighbor. The territory which they comprised was nevertheless destined, in the main, to be ultimately absorbed by Spain. The two Christian states which were to play the most important part in the expulsion of the Moor and the realization of Spanish national unity were the kingdoms of Asturia and Aragon. The former, after a while, abandoned its original name for that of Leon, and this was in turn superseded by the name of Castile when in 1230 these two states (Leon and Castile) were definitely united. As for the union of Aragon and Castile it was prepared by the marriage contracted before their accession to the throne by Ferdinand, who inherited the former, and Isabella, who received the latter kingdom. The two realms thus came into the hands of the same family, although they remained under separate rule during the reign of the two consorts.

297. Isabella, Queen of Castile (1474–1504); Ferdinand, King of Aragon (1479–1516), and the Reconquest of Granada

(Jan. 2, 1492).—The matrimonial alliance of Ferdinand and Isabella was fraught with momentous consequences for Spain's internal history. Their reign was also marked by external events of extraordinary importance. Geographical discoveries, the results of which cannot be overestimated, were made with their help and encouragement, marriages were contracted by their children which assured to Spain the friendship of the leading European states, and the Moors were driven from the remnant of their dominions in the peninsula. The Moors were still in possession of the Kingdom and City of Granada. They had been able to maintain themselves there more by the divisions or indifference of the Christians than by their own strength.

Under the vigorous rule of Ferdinand and Isabella, an end was to be put to their presence in Spain. The war against them, begun in 1481, lasted for ten years, but was not always pushed with equal vigor. The last stronghold of Moorish power, the City of Granada, surrendered on January 2, 1492. The noble task of reconquering the fair and Catholic land of Spain from foreign and infidel usurpation was thus completed. The Moorish inhabitants who remained in Spain were granted the free exercise of their religion; but after their rebellion against the Spanish government in 1500–1501, this privilege was suppressed, and they were given the alternative of accepting baptism or going into exile. Measures such as these enforced against them and against the Jews, together with the reestablishment of the Inquisition, were to maintain Spain's religious unity and preserve her inhabitants from internal religious wars.

298. Ferdinand and Isabella's Internal Administration.—Ferdinand and Isabella's principal aim in their domestic administration was the strengthening of the royal power. The Spanish state had grown under exceptional circumstances and extraordinary difficulties. It was restored, bit by bit, to its original form and greatness through eight centuries of warfare. The war was at once religious and national and

"effected in the Spanish people that intimate fusion of patriotic and religious feeling which distinguished them during many centuries." But while the struggle strongly welded the Spaniards together in religion and patriotism, the royal power remained dependent on the material and moral forces on which it had relied in the reconquest. The clergy had acquired an extraordinary ascendency over their fellow-citizens, because by their preaching they had animated the faith and sustained the courage of the fighters against Islam. They had thus merited well of Church and state. The nobility were not only trained soldiers, but experienced fighters and had enlarged their estates and increased their wealth by conquest from the Infidel. The towns, exposed in many instances to hostile attack, had freely organized themselves in self-defense and acquired considerable power.

Under such conditions, the task of creating a strong central government presented very serious difficulties. It was, nevertheless, successfully accomplished by King Ferdinand in Aragon and Queen Isabella in Castile. Although husband and wife, they ruled their respective dominions independently, but pursued the same policy. They reduced the power of the nobility in fact, without changing the letter of the existing laws and statutes; they created an armed protective force in the cities, but placed it under royal control. As for the power of the Church, they used it, to a great extent, through the reorganized Inquisition for the benefit of the state. In their efforts to make Spain a well-ordered and flourishing commonwealth they succeeded in securing the talented and disinterested assistance of Cardinal Ximenes (1436–1517), who became chancellor of Castile and counsellor of Ferdinand of Aragon. Friar, statesman, and soldier, he loyally served the Church, unselfishly promoted the best interests of the state, particularly in education, and personally led a successful expedition to Africa against the Moors. This attack on the old enemy in his own country is the most eloquent proof of the superior strength which Spain had acquired.

Queen Isabella died in 1504, and Ferdinand of Aragon took over the government of Castile, thus uniting the two kingdoms in the one Kingdom of Spain. But the legal heiress of Castile was his daughter Joanna, who had married Philip, the son of the Emperor Maximilian I, and who was absent from the kingdom. In 1506 Philip and Joanna appeared in Castile to take possession of the government. But shortly after coming to an understanding with Ferdinand, Philip died and Joanna became insane. Ferdinand now ruled as King of Spain until his death in 1516 and then transmitted all his Spanish dominions to the son of Philip and Joanna, who is recorded in history as Charles I, King of Spain, and Charles V, Emperor of Germany.

II. Germany

299. General Characteristics of the Period; the Interregnum (1254–1273).—France, England, and Spain attained, during this period, their national unity and established strong monarchical governments. No such progress is noticeable in the history of Germany or Italy. These two countries continued to be divided into a multitude of petty states and were unified only in the nineteenth century. Disintegration and strife were the characteristics of their history during the later Middle Ages. Germany was divided into over 300 different states, some of which, while including no more than a castle with a village or two, had nevertheless, like the larger subdivisions, their separate rulers. Each little knight or princelet administered his holding as if he were supreme and independent of all higher control. The central authority of the emperor was, generally speaking, respected only in his own family estates. Outside of these he exercised but little power either in domestic or foreign affairs. The ascendency of the empire of Germany came to an end with the downfall of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. After that event the imperial coronation took place only in

rare instances and no longer conferred any real power. In the German kingdom the very centre of gravity was transferred from the west to the east. Up to the middle of the thirteenth century, the Rhine countries had formed the principal element in the state; from then on affairs gravitated eastward. The emperor's attention and interest were centred more on eastern lands, and Bohemia and Austria began to play an important part in German history.

The twenty years which immediately followed the downfall of the Hohenstaufen (1254–1273) are known as the *Interregnum*. They form one of the saddest periods in German history, a period of lawlessness and universal anarchy. It was the reign of the mailed fist, when no right, however sacred or inviolable, was respected. The roads were infested by robber-bands which attacked and despoiled the innocent traveller and peaceful trader. The words used at a later date by a knight in welcoming the wolves as his comrades accurately describe the sentiments of the lawless nobleman of the Interregnum. "Good luck, my dear comrades," he cried to a pack of wolves which he saw fall on a flock of sheep; "good luck to us all, and everywhere." Germany remained in this deplorable state until 1273, when the election of Rudolf of Hapsburg again gave the empire a recognized head.

300. Rudolf of Hapsburg (1273–1291).—Rudolf of Hapsburg was destined to be not only the restorer of order, but also the founder of a new dynasty in Germany. He owned extensive lands in Alsace and Switzerland and derived his title of nobility from the castle of Hapsburg situated in the latter country. While only a count and therefore not a member of the higher nobility, he was recommended by his simplicity, prudence, and bravery to the electoral college, which unanimously raised him to the imperial dignity.

Under critical circumstances, he set to work with ardor and determination to suppress lawlessness and restore security. The too long reign of violence was to be succeeded by an era

of peace. The new emperor himself went from place to place enforcing obedience to law, destroying the lairs of the robber-barons, and inflicting condign punishment, including the death penalty, on the disturbers of the public peace. In Thuringia alone, sixty-six castles of robber-knights were destroyed. Such stern repression of disorder produced the desired result and toward the end of the reign general tranquillity had been restored.

This success was partly due to the new foreign policy which Rudolf inaugurated in the empire and which has with reason been called the Hapsburg policy. He abandoned that grandiose, but unrealizable, scheme of world dominion which had lured his predecessors to Italy and consumed the resources of Germany. His policy was less ambitious, but more practical. Instead of wasting his strength on foreign battlefields, he confined his efforts to the government of Germany. The new departure meant the deliverance of Italy from frequent armed expeditions, the preservation of domestic strength, and the protection of home interests.

301. The Succession after Rudolf.—The Hapsburg dynasty was not to come into permanent possession of the German crown with Rudolf of Hapsburg. The electoral system continued to prevail in deciding the succession, and three houses were in competition for the throne: the families of Hapsburg, Luxemburg and Bavaria. Not many years after Rudolf's death, the first member of the Luxemburg dynasty was elected to the throne in the person of Henry VII (1308–1313). The two most important events of his reign were *an expedition to Italy* and *the acquisition of Bohemia*. The journey to Italy was undertaken for the purpose of restoring order, reestablishing German power, and receiving the imperial crown. Henry was welcomed with enthusiasm by the Ghibellines, particularly that great Italian patriot and greatest of Italian poets, Dante Alighieri, who saw in imperial dominance the only salvation for a much distracted Italy. The imperial coronation was performed in

Rome by three legates deputed for the ceremony by the Pope then resident at Avignon; but the resistance of the Guelf cities to Henry was so obstinate that he died before he could reduce them to submission.

He was succeeded by Lewis IV, known from the family to which he belonged as the Bavarian. Lewis' reign of thirty-three years (1314–1347) was disturbed by two bitter conflicts, one against a rival candidate and another against the papacy. Lewis successfully maintained himself against his competitor for the crown, but was worsted in his quarrel with the Popes and seemed to be on the point of losing all power when he suddenly died. A series of Luxemburg emperors followed him on the throne from 1347 to 1437. After that period of almost a century, the crown passed permanently to members of the House of Hapsburg, who wore it until our own day.

302. Charles IV (1347–1378) **and the Golden Bull** (1356). —Charles IV, like his Luxemburg predecessor Henry VII, made an expedition to Rome and received the imperial crown from papal legates. Under him and his immediate successors, Bohemia occupied a position of preeminence in the empire. It owed this distinction to the personal favor of the emperors and the financial resources which they derived from its flourishing mining industry. The kingdom became an important centre of material prosperity and intellectual progress, and in its capital, Prague, there was established in 1348 the first German university.

Charles IV's reign was remarkable for the publication of the *Golden Bull*, an important constitutional document which received its seemingly ecclesiastical name from the golden case (bulla) in which the seal attached to the document was placed. The bull contained provisions on two important points: the imperial election and the rights of the electors. It fixed the number of princes enjoying the right to vote in an imperial election at seven and ordained that a majority of suffrages decided the election. Three ecclesias-

tical dignitaries and four lay lords formed the college of the seven electors. The ecclesiastics were the Archbishops of Mainz, Treves and Cologne; the lay princes, the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg. The election was to be held in the city of Frankfort.

The bull granted privileges of a wide scope and permanent nature to the electors. The inhabitants of their territories could no longer be cited before the emperor's tribunal, and no appeal was allowed from their courts to a higher one. The seven electors thus virtually became independent sovereigns in their own dominions.

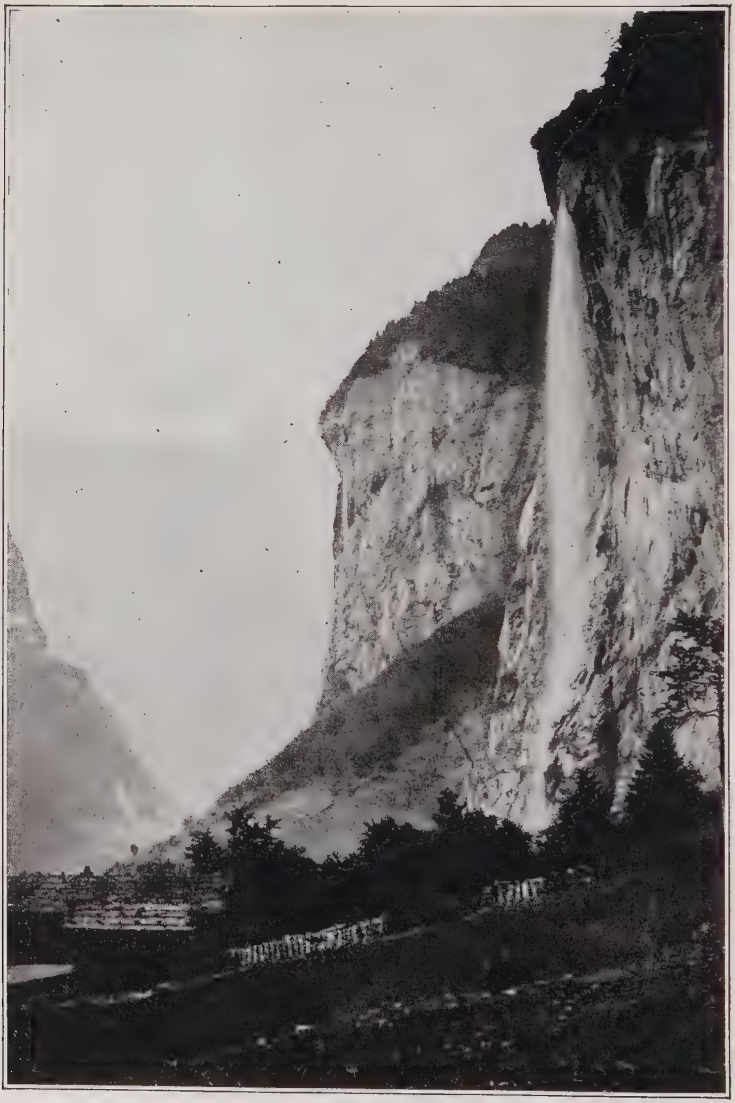
303. Growth of the Cities; Guilds; City Leagues.—At the time when the Golden Bull settled the question of the imperial succession and defined the rights of the electors, a new social power was growing and demanding recognition in Germany. The *cities* were acquiring wealth and steadily gaining influence. The more frequent commercial relations, rendered necessary by the Crusades, had turned greatly to their advantage. As the nobility considered it below its position and dignity to engage in mercantile pursuits, trade was concentrated in the hands of the townspeople. The greater opportunities and growing wealth of the towns naturally attracted an ever-increasing number of workers. The population grew rapidly and to the divisions of society into princes, knights, and peasants was added a prosperous middle class represented by the townspeople.

These newcomers in the social organism showed courage and ability in defending themselves and their interests. They secured important privileges and extensive freedom in the management of local affairs. The individual members of a particular trade, in a town, generally formed, for mutual protection, a union or *guild*, such as the guild of bakers, weavers and others. These organizations had their own statutes and were divided into three classes of persons: the apprentice, the journeyman and the master. The apprentice

was still learning the trade; the journeyman, after a preliminary training, was perfecting himself in the trade; and the master had fulfilled all the conditions required of one who wished to work independently. The economic, social, and spiritual interests of its members were carefully looked after by the guild, and no outsider was allowed to engage in the trade whose interests it was organized to defend. As their prosperity increased, the guilds demanded political recognition and a share in the government of the town. They met with opposition from the aristocracy, but, owing to their strength and persistence, succeeded invariably in securing an equitable share in the local administration. They protected the rights and promoted the welfare of the otherwise helpless artisan and laborer, and contributed, in a large measure, to the prosperity of the towns.

As the different classes of citizens united in self-defense, so the various towns formed *leagues* and alliances for the protection of their commerce. The most famous of these unions among cities was the Hanseatic League. This widespread organization included at the time of its greatest prosperity no less than ninety towns and exercised the powers of a sovereign state. It concluded treaties, occupied foreign territories, waged war, and for a long time controlled commerce in northern and eastern Europe.

304. The Beginnings of Swiss Independence.—The independent and democratic spirit, which was so evident in the town life of the period, manifested itself with still greater vigor in the Forest Cantons of Switzerland: *Schwyz*, *Uri*, and *Unterwalden*. These districts were originally under the feudal overlordship of the Counts of Hapsburg, but were granted, in the thirteenth century, the privilege of immediate dependence on the empire. This concession seemed to have lost much of its significance when in 1273 the Hapsburgs were raised to the imperial dignity. Under Rudolf, the first Hapsburg emperor, the rights of the Cantons, while not always explicitly recognized, were not directly interfered



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with. But, perceiving the danger of a situation in which imperial power and feudal overlordship were concentrated in the same hands, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden concluded in 1291 a "*Perpetual League*" that they might "better defend themselves and their own." This was the first step in that struggle for freedom, the results of which were to receive international sanction only centuries later. The League or Confederation gradually widened its territorial extent and increased its political influence by the accession of new cities and districts. It frequently offered armed resistance to the attempts of the Hapsburgs to enforce their feudal claims and resolute opposition to their aspirations for imperial honors. William Tell became the hero who, in popular legend, typified the struggle for freedom of the Swiss people, but who, in authentic history, must be denied all claim to real existence.

305. The Victories of the Swiss at Morgarten (1315) **and Sempach** (1386); **They win Complete Independence.**— The opposition of the three Cantons to the Hapsburgs led to an attack on their territories by Duke Leopold in 1315. He advanced against them with an army of 15,000 men well trained in the art of war and commanded by the flower of the Austrian nobility. The Swiss confederates had been able to raise no more than 1,300 peasants against this formidable force. But a skilful use of the natural means of defense resulted not only in the defeat, but in the annihilation of the Austrians. They advanced imprudently into the Pass of Morgarten and were greeted by a hail of boulders and trees rolled down on them by the Swiss fighters. Some of them were killed or wounded and the others thrown into confusion. The Swiss profited by the disorder in the Austrian ranks, attacked them hand-to-hand, and utterly destroyed the proud army of the Hapsburgs.

Many years later in 1386 the battle of Sempach was fought under similar conditions and with the same result. Meantime the League had strengthened its internal organiza-

tion and received new members. Lucerne joined it as the fourth Canton in 1332. Other districts followed in rapid succession, so that when in 1353 Berne entered into the alliance as the first city of western Switzerland, the membership in the League was brought up to eight Cantons. This number was for over a century to remain unchanged.

In 1415 the Swiss fought their last war with Austria and again issued victorious from the struggle. They now became completely independent of the Hapsburgs, but were still under the supreme, though hardly recognized, control of the emperor. An attempt to exercise his authority was made by the latter in 1499. It led to a bloody war in which the Swiss Confederation again emerged victorious. This triumph put an end to all imperial authority, but the independence of Switzerland was formally recognized only in 1648 at the Peace of Westphalia.

III. Italy

306. General Features of the History of Italy.—Italy witnessed in the Middle Ages the establishment and growth of city-republics famous for their democratic spirit, political institutions, artistic development, and remarkable progress in civilization. The country was preeminently the centre of culture among Christian nations, but was hopelessly divided in politics and ostensibly devoid of all talent for practical organization. It comprised five leading states: the three City-Republics of *Florence*, *Venice* and *Milan*, the *Kingdom of Naples* and the *Papal States*. Besides these greater political divisions, many lesser principalities or territories existed in the peninsula. All of these states, great and small, were exceedingly jealous of their rights, and intense rivalry and frequent wars embittered their mutual relations. The history of Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is filled with endless accounts of internecine strife, petty quarrels, and unseemly feuds.

The fact that the peaceful arts made such astounding progress, amidst these dissensions and struggles, could hardly be accounted for were it not that the Italian wars usually consisted in "a large armament, much marching to and fro, an occasional siege, infinite negotiation, frequent treachery, and very little bloodshed."

307. The City-State of Florence.—Florence became a flourishing centre of the textile industry, and this industry led to the establishment of extensive commercial relations with foreign countries. The woolen goods, roughly worked in Flanders, were especially treated, dyed, and finished at Florence. The fabrics thus produced by skilful workmanship were known the world over, fetched high prices everywhere, and enriched their makers. As the city depended on industry and commerce for its prosperity, it needed peace for the undisturbed development of the sources of its wealth. Peace was likely to be maintained by the interested artisans and merchants rather than by the turbulent aristocratic element. As a result, representatives of the industrial and commercial classes, which were strongly organized in the merchants' and crafts' guilds, were called to the government in preference to the nobility. This democratic spirit, which placed the lower many above the higher few, was so pronounced that when the government was entrusted to one official, a foreigner, that is, a non-Florentine Italian, was appointed, because he was less likely to become a despot and could be more easily deposed in case of abuse of power.

Despite its democratic government and its interest in the maintenance of peace, Florence waged numerous wars. It fought against the emperors, against neighboring cities, and also suffered from party struggles within its own walls. But these conflicts disturbed the life of the community much less than one would at first be inclined to suppose; for the fighting was frequently done by hired soldiers, the so-called Free Companies, and not by the republic's own citizens. Had it been otherwise, the city's flourishing com-

merce would have suffered irreparable loss, and the production of its artistic and literary masterpieces would have been impossible. Its goods enjoyed a universal reputation for excellence, its bankers enormously furthered commercial intercourse by developing the system of bills of exchange, and, in a period of debased coinage, its gold florin ever retained its high value and became the standard for coinage elsewhere. Under the pressure of business and the love of gain, the political institutions underwent a gradual change, and the native family of the *Medici* gained absolute control of the government. But even under them the democratic forms were retained in appearance, and the new rulers added by their munificence and talent new lustre to the prestige of the great city-republic.

308. The Republic of Venice; Its Government.—Venice owed its origin to the hardy pioneers who, in time of distress, sought safety from foreign invaders in the lagoons of the Adriatic. The city placed itself at an early date under the government of a doge or duke. It retained this official throughout its independent existence, but very much restricted his power in the Middle Ages. Surrounded by great external pomp he represented the majesty, but did not control the government of the republic. The administration was in the hands of the influential families represented in the Great Council. This body was organized in 1172, retained in its own hands the real power, and rose in 1510 to the high membership of sixteen hundred and seventy-one. Such a numerous assembly was, of course, unwieldy as an executive body, and frequently delegated its authority to small commissions, the most famous of which was the "Council of Ten." The "Ten" was first created in 1310 as a temporary expedient, but became in 1335 a permanent institution. Its function was to deal with all matters affecting the welfare of the state, and, although it always retained an extraconstitutional character, it actually governed the republic in place of the doge and Great Council.

Piazza and Basilica of St. Marc (10th to 15th Century), Venice

309. Venice: Foreign Relations.—The Venetian Republic was essentially a maritime state, and its geographical position furnishes the key to its history in prosperity and decline. It needed freedom of intercourse and control of communication with the outside world and secured these advantages by looking chiefly to the East for opportunity and commerce. The city became the queen of the Adriatic, and the republic was long predominant in the eastern Mediterranean. The Venetian settlements along the Adriatic, in Greece, and in the Levant were numerous and important. The republic became the greatest sea power of the time, but had to defend this supremacy against the rising state of Genoa.

The Genoese, like the Venetians, entertained important commercial relations with the East, and rival interests, as generally happens, led to frequent recriminations and open war. The contest for supremacy was decided against Genoa in the war of Chioggia (1378–1380), so called from a place near Venice where the final action was fought. Genoa now placed itself under the overlordship and protection of Milan and shared the vicissitudes of the latter's wars with the Venetian republic. The struggle between these two—Milan and Venice—was partly due to Venice's efforts to insure her own safety against land attack and to control the means of communication with the North. The contest, although bitter and protracted, was less decisive in her history than her position at sea. The maritime question was to be the cause of her decline, as it had been the source of her prosperity. Two events of world-wide importance, the capture of Constantinople and the discovery of America, affected her overseas relations in a most disadvantageous manner and thereby brought about her decline. The republic maintained itself until the sword of Bonaparte struck it the deathblow; but during the last centuries of its existence it retained only a shadow of its former greatness.

310. Milan, the Visconti and Sforza.—Milan had occupied a position of leadership in the resistance of the Italian com-

munes to imperial domination. When the battle against the foreigner was won, popular influence gradually declined in the government, and the city became more aristocratic and Ghibelline than democratic and Guelf. Favorably situated in the rich Lombard plain, she valued territorial possessions higher than commercial advantages and industrial progress, and persistently endeavored to increase her holdings in northern Italy. This policy of expansion brought her into frequent conflicts with the other Italian states, notably Venice and Florence. But the Visconti, who furnished the first series of rulers to the Milanese state, were not men to be easily deterred by opposition, and, amidst considerable difficulties, achieved noteworthy success. So high was the prestige of the state which they ruled that royal houses considered it no disgrace to contract matrimonial alliances with them. The Visconti were succeeded in 1450 by the Sforza. The latter's first representative in the government was of obscure origin; but soon the Sforza, as formerly the Visconti, associated on a footing of equality with the reigning houses of Europe. Ludovico Sforza began in the year 1492 those negotiations which led to the French expeditions to Italy described in a previous chapter. The date is worth remembering in Italian history not only because of the event just mentioned, but also because it was the year of Lorenzo de Medici's death at Florence, of Pope Alexander VI's accession to the papacy at Rome, and of Columbus the Genoese's discovery of America.

311. Naples and Sicily.—Conditions in southern Italy differed in many important respects from the situation in the north. While in the north the cities were the units of political life, they held, in the south, no such position. The south had for generations been under imperial domination; the north had never recognized the emperor's authority for any length of time. The south was under the suzerainty of the Pope; the north had never accepted such dependence. The papal overlordship was not without practical influence

on the affairs of the country. Its exercise in the bestowal of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily on Charles of Anjou caused the complete destruction of imperial power in the south of Italy. After this introduction of a new dynasty, the Popes always supported the French against the opponents to Angevin rule. While formerly the kingdom was a bone of contention between Popes and emperors, it was for many years, beginning with the middle of the thirteenth century, an apple of discord between the three Houses of Anjou, of Aragon, and of Hungary. The first-named held its authority through the papal appointment; the second derived its claims from the Hohenstaufen, to whom it was related; the third based its rights on a matrimonial alliance with the Angevins.

How very unpopular French rule was in Sicily is evidenced by the *Sicilian Vespers*, a term which designates the massacre of the French inhabitants in the island at the hour of Vespers on Easter Monday, 1282. This terrible slaughter of over 8,000 victims put an end to French power in Sicily. The island was lost to the Angevins, passed under the jurisdiction of the House of Aragon, and was until 1713 under Spanish rule. As for Naples, it remained subject to Charles of Anjou, who handed it down to his son. In the fourteenth century the Angevin rights were, owing to matrimonial alliances, complicated by Hungarian claims, and bitter quarrels ensued for the possession of the crown. More settled conditions returned only in 1442, when Alfonso V of Aragon united Naples with his Kingdom of Sicily. After that date several brilliant attempts were made by the French to recover Naples, but they were never crowned with lasting success. The authority of the Spanish claimants was gradually asserted and was recognized both in the island and on the mainland.

312. The Papal States.—Aside from the extraordinary authority enjoyed by its ruler, the papal territory had this advantage over the other Italian states, that its government

pursued a traditional and well-defined policy. The papacy's primary aim was the independence of its spiritual authority. Such freedom was contingent on its possession of temporal sovereignty. That crude age, which was affected so much by symbols, respected but little any authority unsupported by material force. Even spiritual rule had to be made apparent and tangible by outward splendor and external show of power. The Popes, conscious of this medieval spirit, energetically defended their position as temporal rulers.

Not only did they strive to ward off all encroachments on their dominion, but they offered an uncompromising opposition to the union of North and South Italy under one authority. Their efforts produced very satisfactory results; for, even during their residence abroad and the turmoil attending the Great Schism, the Church's temporal possessions were not seriously infringed upon. Cola di Rienzi could indeed, harking back to classical times, proclaim in 1347 a Roman republic, but the rule of the fiery tribune was short-lived and entailed no permanent loss to the papal territory. Cardinal Albornoz, priest, soldier, and statesman all in one, reconquered by severe repression or saved by judicious compromise the districts which, following Rome's example, had broken away from papal authority. He it was who gave the States of the Church that constitution and organization under which they lived until the nineteenth century. He displayed in the framing of this document, as in the reconquest of disaffected territories, a pronounced sense of the rights of the Holy See and a wise spirit of concessions to popular sentiment. The papacy did not destroy in its own dominions the liberty and independence which, in bitter conflict with the emperors, it had saved to the rest of Italy. Its government was, generally speaking, carried on by churchmen in mild and indulgent fashion and was more calculated to promote happiness than efficiency and rigorous observance of detailed rules. The individual cities rather freely managed their own affairs and, both at

home and abroad, the papacy continued to be the courageous defender of popular rights and the great representative of democratic tendencies and aspirations.

IV. The East: Greeks, Slavs and Turks

313. The Eastern or Byzantine Empire.—Although the Eastern Empire outlasted the Western by a thousand years, it was never without foes bent on its destruction. The Teutonic barbarians had assailed it before they established themselves on the ruins of the western world. The Persians, by their ever-recurring incursions, had rendered life and property insecure on its eastern frontier until they were themselves reduced to subjection by the Saracens. The Arabs had overrun it from the south and occupied some of its most flourishing provinces. Their conquests were later taken over and extended into the very heart of Asia Minor by the Seljukian Turks who, in their turn, were to be supplanted by their Ottoman kinsmen. In Europe, the Slavs, moving southward, occupied several imperial provinces, and in the fourteenth century threatened Constantinople itself. They founded new states in the Balkans in which Greek influence became predominant, just as Latin culture had chiefly spread among the Teutonic invaders.

314. Divisions and Advance of the Slavs.—The Slavs are generally divided into three great groups: (1) The eastern group formed by the *Russians;* (2) the northwestern group, composed principally of *Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks;* and (3) the southern group, including the *Slovenes, Croatians, and Serbs.* The northwestern and southern Slavs alone have to be considered in the present discussion. At the migration of the nations, they pressed forward into the territories abandoned by the Germans. Meeting in the Carpathian mountains a strong natural obstacle which barred their advance, they split into two bodies and proceeded in two different directions. The northwestern Slavs advanced

northward as far as the Baltic Sea and westward into the very heart of Germany. The southern Slavs, or, as they are now frequently called, the Jugo-Slavs, moved toward the provinces of the Eastern Empire. In the seventh century they established themselves permanently in the Balkan peninsula and took possession of all the territory extending from the south of Hungary to Greece and the Adriatic. They were converted to Christianity by western missionaries, but only some of them, like the Croatians, have remained subject to the Holy See and attached to the Catholic faith; the others, for example the Serbians, yielding to Greek influences, separated from Rome and belong to the Orthodox Church. In the same century as the Slavs, an Asiatic tribe, the Bulgarians, advanced into the Balkan peninsula. In the course of time these newcomers so completely lost their racial identity that they are now commonly reckoned as a Slavic people.

The Bulgarians and the Serbians formed in southeastern Europe a state, which was of considerable extent, but of short duration. The greatest Serbian king was *Stephen Dushan* (1331–1355), who planned the creation of an immense Oriental empire with Constantinople as his capital. He undertook thirteen campaigns against this city, advanced to its very gates, but died before he could effect its capture. Constantinople was to succumb only a century later, and then to Turkish assailants advancing from the east.

315. The Ottoman Turks; their Origin and Name; the Janissaries.—To the many races represented in southeastern Europe was to be added, in the fourteenth century, still another, the Ottoman Turks. They derived their name of *Ottomans* or *Osmanli* from their first independent leader Othman (1288–1326). They were Asiatics, like the Seljukian Turks, who had preceded them westward and whose battles they fought for a short time. When, about the year 1300, the general dissolution of the Seljukian dominions set in, they became independent and acquired extensive

territory in Asia Minor. Essentially a race of conquerors, they quickly extended their power to neighboring lands and as early as 1326 captured Brusa. This city, situated in dangerous proximity to Constantinople, became the Asiatic capital of the Turks.

Othman's successor, Orchan (1326–1359), organized the newly conquered lands and strengthened the army. He secured new recruits for the latter by a novel system of levies. The Koran offered the alternative of conversion or tribute to unbelievers. The Christians who remained steadfast in their faith could purchase religious freedom by a stipulated payment in goods or money. Orchan introduced the custom of exacting a tribute also in children. Christian villages were compelled to furnish annually a fixed number of the healthiest boys to the Turkish conquerors. These children, about eight years old at their surrender, were reared in the Mohammedan religion and carefully trained for service to the state. As they grew older, they were, according to their qualifications and dispositions, employed in the civil administration or drafted for military duty. In both services they were under the absolute control of the sultan and were of inestimable value to the government. In the army they formed the crack corps of the Janissaries or new troops, a body famous for its fanaticism and unsurpassed as a fighting unit.

316. The Turks cross into Europe (1354).—It was under Orchan that the Turks passed into Europe and established themselves permanently on that continent. Profiting by the confusion caused by an earthquake in Thrace, they seized Gallipoli, fortified it, and used the stronghold as a base of operations for further conquests. Murad I (1359–1389) added city after city to his dominions and in 1361 captured Adrianople, which, until the fall of Constantinople, formed the capital of European Turkey. He advanced into the country of the southern Slavs, but met with a more determined resistance from them than from the degenerate

Greeks. The king of the Serbians, Lazarus, collected a large army for the expulsion of the invader. On the historic field of the Blackbirds at *Kossovo*, he met a Turkish host inferior in numbers, but superior in training and organization. The Serbians were routed and their king slain (1389). The assassination of Murad by a Serbian nobleman after the battle did not improve the position of the Serbians nor weaken the Turkish power. Serbia was reduced to subjection, Bulgaria annexed, and the Turkish dominions extended to the Danube. An attempt of King Sigismund to bring relief to the vanquished Serbians only served to add another triumph to the constantly increasing number of Turkish successes. The Christian army was annihilated at Nicopolis in 1396.

317. Attacks on Constantinople; Its Fall in 1453.—The Turkish advance in Europe constantly increased the danger to Constantinople, which was, after a time, hemmed in on all sides. The city was repeatedly but unsuccessfully attacked in the closing years of the fourteenth century. In 1402 a regular siege was undertaken and seemed to promise definitive success, when the Turkish besiegers had to abandon the operations to meet a formidable enemy elsewhere. The great conqueror, *Timour* or *Tamerlane*, starting from central Asia, had proceeded westward and invaded the Turkish dominions. The Ottoman power was itself menaced with instant destruction and summoned all its defenders against the advancing foe. At *Angora* in Asia Minor they fought to stem the victorious advance of Timour, but suffered a crushing defeat (1402). Turks and Greeks seemed to be at the mercy of the conqueror, but Timour, more gratified at the victory than covetous of territory, retreated eastward and died shortly after (1405). The Turks were given time to recover and to reestablish their shattered power in Asia Minor. But a new attempt which they made in 1422 to conquer Constantinople had to be abandoned to cope with a rebellion in Asia.

In spite of this relief due to unforeseen circumstances it was obvious that the imperial capital was in constant danger, and the Greeks resorted to strange expedients to secure the sorely needed military assistance for its defense. In the hope of obtaining help they even concluded at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439), a religious union with the Holy See which was, however, no more lasting than its motive was sincere. As no western soldiers were forthcoming in grateful recognition of the renunciation of the schism, the union was again dissolved.

A final successful attack on Constantinople was made in 1453. The city was defended by the Genoese and Venetians rather than by the Greeks themselves. Both Italian peoples desired, for commercial reasons, the continuance of Greek rule, but neither could prevent the fall of the city into Turkish hands. The Ottoman troops under their Sultan, Mohammed II (1451–1481), made their entry into Constantinople on May 29, 1453. Under Turkish rule the Church of St. Sophia, that most remarkable monument of Christian architecture, was converted into a mosque.

318. Results of the Fall of Constantinople; New Turkish Successes.—The Christian world was aghast at the news that the strong capital of the Eastern Empire had fallen into the hands of the Infidel. The Pope put forth vigorous efforts to rouse the western princes to a sense of their danger, but met with little response. France and England had just concluded the Hundred Years' War and were loath to engage in new fighting abroad. Germany was too distracted by internal turmoil to be of any real service, and the Italian republics, Genoa and Venice, more bent on trade than zealous for the Christian faith, hastened to secure trading privileges from the new masters of Constantinople. Hungary alone, more directly menaced than other states, offered armed resistance to the Ottoman hordes. There the celebrated *John Hunyadi*, who had already performed prodigies of valor, still animated the courage of the Christian warriors.

Encouraged by his example and fired by the preaching of *St. John Capistran*, a strong army advanced against the Turks who were besieging Belgrade. It forced them not only to raise the siege, but also to retreat in a southerly direction (1456). This signal success saved Hungary from serious danger, but failed to rescue the Balkan states from Turkish oppression. As both Hunyadi and Capistran died soon after the victory, the Christian efforts against the common enemy were not long sustained. Checked at this point the Turks turned their efforts elsewhere, and even landed in 1480 a force at Otranto in southern Italy. They now seemed to menace Rome itself, but again abandoned this outlying post in the following year. At the beginning of the sixteenth century they added Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia to their vast empire. Masters of northern Africa, western Asia and southeastern Europe, they remained for many years a menace to western Christendom.

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CHAPTER XXII

INVENTIONS, DISCOVERIES; THE RENAISSANCE IN ART AND LETTERS

I. Inventions and Discoveries

319. The Invention of Gunpowder.—Gunpowder was among the important inventions which were put to general practical use during this period. It caused profound changes not only in military organization but also in the social life of the time. Its invention, however, cannot with certainty be claimed for this period. The merit of the discovery has been ascribed by some to the Chinese, who are said to have known gunpowder in the third century of the Christian era. Its introduction into Europe, it is claimed, followed two centuries later. While these contentions are plausible, it can be definitely stated only that *Berthold Schwarz* (flourished about 1245) and *Roger Bacon* (1246–1294) the former a German, the latter an English Franciscan Friar, were acquainted with some of the properties of gunpowder. Their knowledge, however, may have been derived from written documents and not from original experiments.

In the fourteenth century, gunpowder was used first in heavy guns and then in small arms handled by foot soldiers. The decisive value of infantry had been demonstrated in the wars of the Swiss against the House of Hapsburg and in other conflicts. It was further enhanced by the use of gunpowder, which rapidly became general. The infantry furnished the sinews of the new battles; while the mailed chivalry, skilled in hand-to-hand fighting, played a secondary rôle. The peasant could as a soldier render services equal or superior to those of the knight, and the armies were gradually formed by mercenaries rather than vassals. The military and social position of the lesser nobility was thus adversely affected and the knell of feudal institutions

STATUE OF GUTENBERG, STRASBURG

sounded. The castles of the knights ceased to be the impregnable strongholds of old, as their thick walls crumbled to pieces under the fire of new engines of attack.

320. The Use of Paper and the Invention of the Printing Press.—The reproduction of old manuscripts and the propagation of new literature were enormously facilitated by the general use of paper and the invention of the printing press. For centuries parchment, an expensive material, had been chiefly used for writing purposes in western Europe. Gradually paper, the discovery of which, like that of gunpowder, has been attributed to the Chinese, became known and was substituted. Produced from linen rags, it was inexpensive and could be easily manufactured. It came into general use in the west in the fourteenth century.

The adoption of paper as writing material was soon followed by the invention of the printing press. The importance of the new discovery consisted in the substitution of movable metallic types for the fixed, wooden characters in the reproduction of writing. While in the fixed system a new type was necessary for every new reproduction, an indefinite number of letters could be printed from one movable character. The expensive manuscripts of the Middle Ages were thus replaced by books which could be purchased at a much lower price.

The reputed author of the discovery was *John Gutenberg* (about 1398–1468), a native of Mainz in western Germany. He seems to have made his first attempts at reproducing writing according to this new process at Strasburg. About 1450 he set up his first printing press at Mainz. But the enterprise was more beneficial to posterity than profitable to himself. He became involved in financial difficulties, was prosecuted in the law-courts, and the invention was taken over and developed by others. Hailed by ecclesiastics as a potent means of promoting the salvation of man, the art was accorded generous protection, rapidly gained favor, particularly in monasteries, and spread from Germany to

other countries. It was first introduced into England by William Caxton, who set up a printing press in Westminster Abbey about 1471. The Latin Bible was the first book printed by Gutenberg, a fact which disproves the oft-repeated tale that the Catholic Church withheld the Scriptures from the people and discouraged the reading of God's Word.

The earliest specimens of printing, now known as *Incunabula*, were executed with minute care, and their high quality still compels our admiration. The same standard of excellence was long maintained; but in the seventeenth century a period of decline set in and continued throughout the eighteenth century. Only by a return to the esthetic principles of the old masters and the use of more perfect technical processes did the printer's art attain the high grade of excellence which it has reached in the present age.

321. The Italians in Geographical Science; Marco Polo (1254–1324).—As the Italians were the greatest seafaring people, so they were long the leaders in geographical discovery or research. "Educated men from Venice, Genoa, Pisa and Florence emigrated to other lands, carrying with them science, skill and ingenuity unknown except in the advanced and enterprising Italian city-republics and principalities. Italian mathematicians made the calculations on which all navigation was based; Italian cartographers drew maps and charts; Italian ship-builders designed and built the best vessels of the time; Italian captains commanded them, and very often Italian sailors made up their crews; while at least in the earlier period Italian bankers advanced the funds with which the expeditions were equipped and sent out."[1]

Among the most renowned travellers and explorers was the Venetian *Marco Polo*, who began in 1271 with his father and uncle a journey to the court of the Chinese Emperor

[1] Cheyney, *The European Background of American History*, p. 42.

Kublai. Taken into his service by the latter, he was entrusted with important offices, sent on official missions, and was the first European to enjoy extraordinary opportunities of visiting and studying numerous parts of China and the Far East. After spending seventeen years in the emperor's service, he returned to Italy, where he arrived in 1298. The very year of his return he was captured in a war between Venice and Genoa and, during his enforced idleness in a Genoese prison, dictated to a fellow captive with writing propensities, an account of his travels in Asia.

The work caused a great sensation among the learned public and aroused extraordinary interest in the wonders of the East. Although not accepted at the time as a reliable narrative, it left minds in a state of unsatisfied curiosity which encouraged further research and new journeys. Its accuracy, groundlessly impugned, was confirmed by Catholic missionaries and subsequent travellers. The publication produced results of inestimable value, for it incited the Portuguese to seek and find a new route to the East around the Cape of Good Hope and stirred in Columbus that passion for discovery which produced such momentous results.

322. Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) **and the Portuguese.**—The founder of Portuguese sea power and colonial dominion was *Prince Henry*, surnamed the Navigator. He belonged to the reigning House of Portugal and, as a young man, distinguished himself by his gallantry in the wars against the Moors both in Europe and Africa. Renouncing the profession of arms, he gave himself up to nautical studies and exploration. He founded an observatory and established a school for the study of the sciences useful to navigation. His absorbing ambition was the discovery of unknown worlds and their conversion to the Catholic faith. The desire to spread Christianity was the leading motive which impelled him and many contemporary navigators to organize or undertake voyages of discovery.

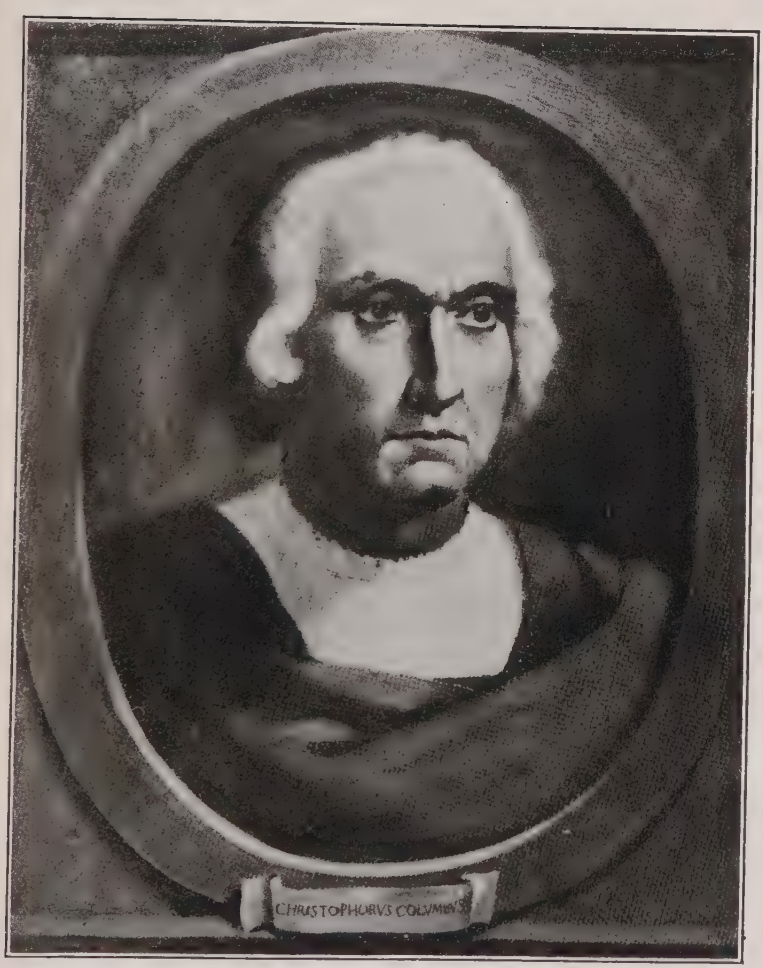
Henry's plan was not only to explore the coast of Africa,

but also to conquer the land and open it to Christian missionaries. He trained a whole body of mariners and explorers and, beginning with 1416, fitted out almost every year an expedition to West Africa. The early voyages were carried out at his personal expense; later, societies were founded which provided the necessary funds. The prince's efforts were crowned with considerable success; during his lifetime the Azores and Madeira islands were discovered and the West African Coast explored as far south as Sierra Leone.

323. New Portuguese Discoveries; Colonization.—The tireless and systematic efforts of Henry the Navigator effected a thorough change in the national ideals, aims, and aspirations of the Portuguese. Up to this time a nation of soldiers and Crusaders, they became now explorers and colonizers. The successes attained during the lifetime of Henry spurred them on to new undertakings after his death. Portuguese mariners continued to creep southward along the west coast of Africa, and their perseverance was rewarded by the discovery of a new route to the east.

In 1486 *Bartholomew Diaz* rounded the Cape of Good Hope and proceeded some distance northward along the eastern coast of the Dark Continent. About ten years later *Vasco da Gama*, following the road pointed out by the discoverer, reached the harbor of Calicut in India and founded a new colony. The Portuguese establishments in India and farther east became numerous under the soldier and organizer, *Afonso Albuquerque*. As second Viceroy of the colony, he strove to attain a threefold end, viz., the military security of the new settlements, Portuguese commercial supremacy, and the conversion of the natives. A true Crusader, but exacting official, he rendered inestimable services to his country and built in the capital of the colony, Goa, the church of the Blessed Virgin which has been styled "the Cradle of Christianity, not only in India, but in all East Asia."

324. Christopher Columbus (about 1446–1506) **and His**



Christopher Columbus

Plan of Discovery.—Christopher Columbus was born at Genoa in Italy about 1446. His parents were weavers, and for a while he followed the same trade. Little definite information about his early life and education has reached us. He probably did not attend any higher school of learning, but mastered the Latin language and was exceedingly well read in all matters pertaining to the art of navigation. About the year 1471 he went to Portugal, then the leading country in maritime exploration. Several voyages made in Portuguese ships south to Guinea and north to the British Isles, added experience and practical knowledge to the theoretical information he had derived from books.

He was undoubtedly well prepared for the rôle of explorer, but explorers were not uncommon in his day. His grand title to fame rests on the fact that he gave a new aim to the voyages of discovery, viz., the finding of a road to the lands of the east by sailing westward. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the overland routes to the Orient had been abandoned by commerce, because they were not sufficiently safe. The Portuguese had sought a new road in a northeasterly and southeasterly direction, but had for a long time met with insignificant success. Columbus by his reading and studies had convinced himself that the wonderful countries of the east could be reached by steering a westerly course. The motive which impelled him to seek this new passage was not the acquisition of fabulous wealth, but the desire to make known the Christian faith to the inhabitants of these lands whose ruler had applied to the Holy See for missionaries.

325. Columbus appeals to several European Courts for Help.—Too poor himself to fit out an expedition, he laid his plan before the King of Portugal with a request for financial assistance (1484). With this step began that series of requests for help addressed to European rulers by the great navigator., In Portugal the project was considered a fantastic dream and its author turned away. He

proceeded to Spain in 1485, but here also both the nobility and the court long remained deaf to his pleadings. His scheme was submitted to two Spanish commissions of experts, but was rejected by both. It met with no more favorable reception from the practical Henry VII of England, or the adventurous Charles VIII of France, upon whose consideration it was urged by Columbus' brother. As a last resort, Columbus decided to leave Spain and renew the appeal to the King of France. He was about to carry out this plan when he stopped one day at the Franciscan Friary of La Rabida in Andalusia. The brief stay in this hospitable house was to be the turning point in his career. Its prior John Perez, confessor to Queen Isabella, evinced a lively interest in his project and asked the stranger to remain until one more request had been addressed to the court. The friar's pressing appeal was favorably listened to and assistance was at last granted to Columbus.

326. Columbus' First Voyage and the Discovery of America (1492).—Three ships were fitted out in the harbor of Palos for the voyage. Columbus personally bore one-eighth of the expense, and the remainder of the necessary funds was contributed by the Crown of Castile. An agreement signed before his departure stipulated that he was to be viceroy and governor general of all the lands he might discover. After invoking, like a true Christian knight, the protection of God on his undertaking, he sailed from Palos on August 3, 1492, in command of three caravels. They were but a short time at sea when one of the ships lost its helm, and the expedition was forced to refit in the Canaries.

After spending about a month in making the necessary repairs, it proceeded westward. Things went smoothly during the early part of the voyage, but as day after day passed and the land, so hopefully promised, did not appear, some among the crew gave open expression to their discontent and desire to turn back. Columbus, however, was no more intimidated by disaffection than he had been

discouraged by rebuffs in his pleas for assistance. He continued to steer a westward course and on October 12, 1492, sighted land. He had discovered one of the Bahama islands, which he called *San Salvador*, and of which he took possession in the name of Jesus Christ and of Spain. Upon information from the natives that to the southward lay a land rich in gold, he proceeded in that direction and discovered Cuba and Hispaniola (Haiti). Leaving in Haiti some men of his crew, he returned to Spain, where he was received amidst great popular rejoicing. The court conferred the highest honors on him naming him Grand Admiral and appointing him viceroy of the colony.

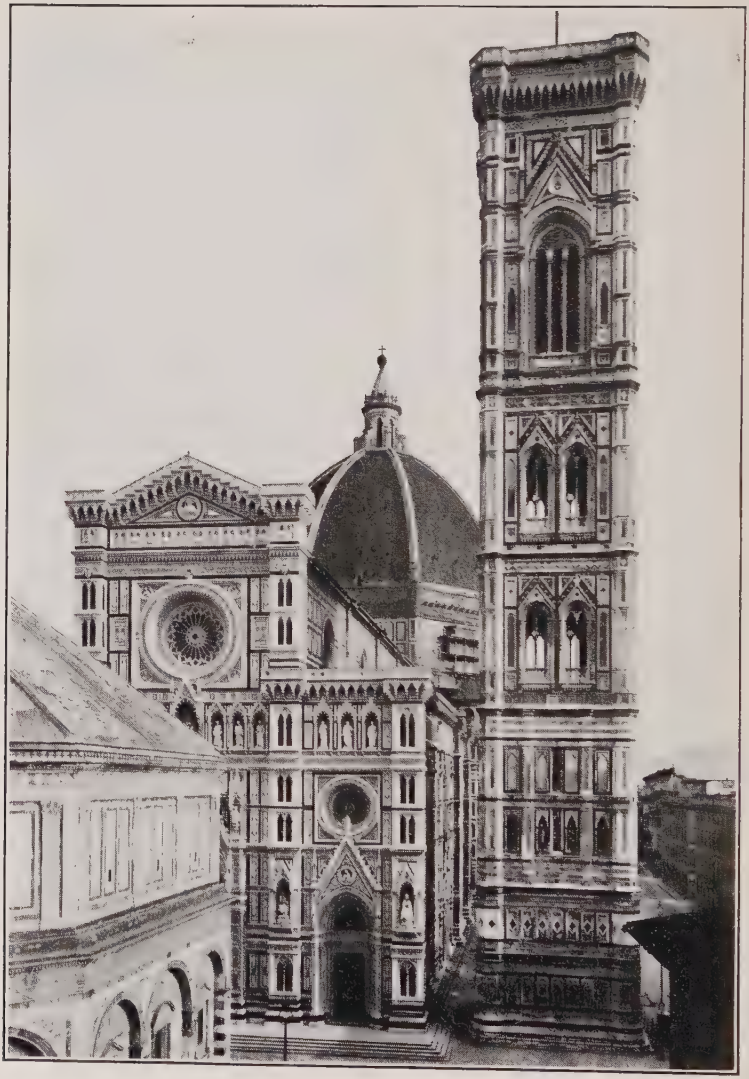
327. Discovery of New Lands by Columbus; His Death (1506).—After his first epoch-making discovery Columbus undertook three more voyages. The second lasted from 1493 to 1496 and is memorable for the discovery of the Lesser Antilles, Porto Rico, and Jamaica. Cuba was visited and a new settlement established at Haiti, where the Spaniards left behind by Columbus had been massacred. During the admiral's absence in the New World, envious intriguers undermined his position at court and, to vindicate himself, he returned to Spain. He regained the royal favor more by valuable presents than by eloquent pleading and in 1498 left on a new journey of exploration. This third voyage resulted in the discovery of the South American continent, but ended in a tragic manner for Columbus himself. His administration, as viceroy, was severely criticized by the Spanish settlers at Haiti, and some of them openly defied his authority. To put an end to an ugly situation he requested that an umpire be sent to the island by the Spanish court.

A commissioner, with plenary royal power, was appointed and proceeded to Haiti. Without previous investigation, he put Columbus himself in irons and sent him as a common prisoner to Spain. The unfortunate explorer was indeed released immediately upon his arrival and received with all honor due to his rank; but he was never again fully reinstated

in the court's favor. When he left on his fourth and last voyage, his four ships were but poorly equipped and he was not even allowed to land at Haiti. In this last attempt to find a western route to the east he sailed for a considerable distance along the coast of Central America. He returned to Spain in 1504 and died there two years later. Like many great men he was misunderstood, envied, maligned, and dealt with unjustly; but his unflinching determination and unselfish labors were rewarded by the discovery of a new hemisphere.

328. John Cabot discovers the North American Continent (1497); Magellan undertakes the First Voyage around the World (1519–1522).—Columbus' discovery of new western lands stimulated the zeal of contemporary navigators. Some of these made important discoveries in the vast expanse of unexplored regions. One of Columbus' own countrymen, *John Cabot*, subjected the great navigator's views and plans to a minute scrutiny and, after receiving a commission from the English Crown, sailed westward in quest of a new passage to China and India. The course he followed lay a considerable distance north of that steered by Columbus, and in 1497 he discovered the North American continent, landing probably on the coast of Labrador.

The passage to the east, which haunted the imagination of so many navigators, was to be discovered much further south by *Ferdinand Magellan*. A native of Portugal, he renounced his nationality and offered his services to Spain. Authorized to lead five ships westward to the Moluccas or Spice Islands, he left Spain in 1519, reached the Plata River in South America the following year and, after spending the winter in Patagonia, discovered and passed through the strait which bears his name. The calm sea on which he sailed on the other side suggested to him the name of *Pacific Ocean* which he applied to it. Although he suffered greatly from lack of provisions he continued the voyage in a northwesterly direction and in March, 1521, discovered the islands



CATHEDRAL AND BELL TOWER (*Giotto*) FLORENCE

which, in honor of King Philip II, were later called the *Philippines*. Here he died fighting the natives. One of his officers continued the voyage and successfully brought back to Spain one of the original five ships, thus achieving the first complete voyage around the world (1522).

II. The Renaissance in Letters and Art

329. The Renaissance, Its Meaning, The Country of its Origin.—The Renaissance or rebirth was a revival of classical learning, a return to the study of the literature and art of ancient Greece and Rome. This literary and artistic revival was, like most historical movements, connected with the past. Latin, as the official language of the Church, had always been a means of education and was not unknown to medieval students. Italy, the first and principal country of the revival, had never utterly lost all taste for its ancient culture and had never become completely absorbed in the Scholastic movement. Strange as it may seem, it is none the less true that the Italian mind, being less influenced by Scholasticism, could more easily turn to the ancient classical treasures. For the Schoolmen busied themselves with metaphysics, with the problems of man's relations to the next world, whereas the *Humanists*, as the students of ancient scholarship called themselves, were chiefly interested in Nature and life, in the beauty, joys, and honors of this world. It is important to note these two opposite conceptions of life, as they help to explain the antagonism which manifested itself, particularly in Germany, between the Scholastics and the Humanists.

330. Causes and Promoters of the Renaissance.—The new movement dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century and lasted well into the sixteenth. Faint traces of it are noticeable in Dante (1265–1321), but its first standard-bearer was Petrarch, like Dante, an Italian. The study of ancient classical models became a real passion

and spread from Italy to other countries. The movement assumed a general character affecting every phase of thought and life and gained ground among all western nations. It was promoted by the founding of numerous universities and by the munificent protection extended to it by powerful patrons like the Medici at Florence and the Popes at Rome. The collecting of ancient manuscripts, which was one of its features, was furthered by the founding of libraries like that of the Vatican, established by Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455). The spread and preservation of classical works profited immensely by the invention of the printing press. As for the knowledge of ancient letters, it was taught chiefly by Italians and Greeks. The former were especially active in spreading Latin culture, whereas the latter became instrumental in propagating a taste for Greek letters, particularly when the capture of Constantinople by the Turks forced many of them to seek a refuge in the West.

331. Petrarch (1304–1373).—Petrarch, the earliest eminent Humanist, was born at Arezzo in central Italy and was educated in his native land and in France by Italian masters. His father destined him to the profession of law, but the youth disliked the dry and lifeless legal formulas and, in spite of his father's keen displeasure, devoted himself to the study of belles-lettres. He spent several years at the papal court at Avignon and entered freely into the gay and worldly life of the city. This sojourn was followed by a period of wandering which took him through France, Germany, and especially Italy. He was crowned poet and historian at the Capitol in Rome and went from city to city in quest of ancient literary remains. In his researches he discovered some of Cicero's writings, and, in his admiration for classical latinity, he produced works in which he extolled the heroes of ancient Rome in Rome's ancient tongue. But in spite of the stress which he lays on these productions, his lasting fame rests more on his lyric poems written in the Italian language. His influence on Humanism, and notably on his friend Boccaccio, was of the highest importance.

332. John Boccaccio (1313–1375).—John Boccaccio was born in Paris of Italian parents and studied in Florence. An admirer of Dante, he lectured on the poetry and wrote a life of the great Florentine. So high was his appreciation of Greek scholarship that he supported at his own house a professor who directed his studies in that language. His literary productions were numerous and included a dictionary of classical mythology which was long referred to as authoritative and which stimulated the interest of contemporaries and posterity in ancient learning.

But the work which has contributed more than anything else, both by its moral indecency and literary grace, to the celebrity which he still enjoys, is the famous Decameron or "Ten Days." It was written about the middle of the fourteenth century when the Black Death was raging in Europe and owes its name to the period of ten days spent together by ten friends, seven ladies and three young men, in a villa near Naples. They went there from Florence to escape the thought and danger of the plague and spent the time in gay and agreeable fashion. One of the pastimes was the telling of a story on each day by each of the friends and Boccaccio, in his work, has left us an account of these narratives. Whether such a company ever met or not, a point which cannot be definitely determined, it is certain that the Decameron is remarkable for its fine analysis of character, and for the wonderful variety of the adventures related, despite the immorality which stains its pages.

333. The Study of Greek.—Greek was a dead language in the fullest sense of the expression during the Middle Ages. The western nations neither spoke, nor wrote, nor studied Greek. The revival of interest in Latin culture was attended by a desire to become acquainted with the treasures of ancient Greece. Some of the early Humanists, like Boccaccio, acquired at great pains and considerable expense a knowledge of the Greek authors. Not a few journeyed from Italy to Greece to study the language and collect literary remains.

The first teacher of Greek in the West was *Manuel Chrysoloras*, who toward the end of the fourteenth century was surrounded by eager students in Florence and elsewhere. His example was followed by other scholars who devoted themselves to the propagation of Hellenistic culture. Their number became considerable, particularly when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, and Greek exiles sought refuge in Italy. They formed centres of Hellenistic studies in many schools, and their influence was felt far beyond Italy. Students from many countries flocked to their lectures and carried away to their native land a knowledge and love of Greek literature.

334. Popes Nicholas V (1447–1455) **and Pius II** (1458–1464).—With Pope Nicholas V the Renaissance ascended the papal throne. A Humanist, collector of books, and lover of art, he designed to make Rome a city of splendid monuments and a home of literature and art. A great builder, he restored the churches and aqueducts of the city and concentrated his attention particularly on the Vatican Palace and the basilica of St. Peter's. The Vatican Library, founded by him, was a means of preserving many literary treasures which would otherwise have become the prey of moths or found their way to the furnace. As the Pope rescued precious manuscripts from destruction, so also he saved poets and scholars from poverty by inviting them to his court and conferring on them rewards and favors.

His munificent generosity toward the representatives of the New Learning was continued by Pius II, although the latter was more of a scholar and less of a patron than Nicholas. He had won fame as a poet and orator before he ascended the papal throne and during a sojourn, in an official capacity, at the emperor's court, had promoted classical studies among the Germans. In the empire, the city of Strasburg was the earliest centre of Humanism, but in Germany, as well as in France and England, the movement gained strength and became popular much later than in Italy.

335. The Revival of Art; Giotto (1276–1336); **Fra Angelico** (1387–1455).—In art as in literature the revival of antiquity began in Italy. It benefited chiefly architecture, sculpture, and painting and drew inspiration from ancient monuments and classical remains. The movement assumed enormous proportions and produced an almost incredible number of works unsurpassed in bold conception and finished execution. Its influence on the world's history was, however, less notable than that of the revival of letters. The latter affected directly or indirectly all classes of society, whereas art appealed only to a limited circle of persons. It is a fact worthy of note that some artists of the Renaissance excelled not only in architecture, or painting, or sculpture, but cultivated several arts with distinguished success.

Giotto, the first renowned representative of the period, was famous as an architect and achieved still greater success in painting. He was a native of Florence, a town which gave birth to more celebrities in this age than probably any other city in any equal number of years. As architect he designed the bell tower of the cathedral of Florence, and as painter he was the author of the frescoes which adorn the Church of St. Francis at Assisi. He is rightly considered the founder of Italian painting.

Another illustrious painter of the Florentine school was Blessed *Fra Angelico* (1387–1455), a saintly Dominican Friar. His paintings may be seen in several Italian cities in which he successively resided. Particularly noteworthy are the decorations in the Dominican convent of San Marco in Florence. They belong to the most exquisite productions of Christian art and inspire the loftiest sentiments of piety and devotion in the beholder. In the pictures painted by the Friar artist the characters appear as if transfigured by a mysterious heavenly influence.

336. The Three Master Minds of the Renaissance: Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519); **Raphael** (1483–1520) **and**

Michelangelo (1475–1564).—The three greatest minds of the Renaissance were *Leonardo da Vinci*, *Raphael*, and *Michelangelo*. The first-named was an almost universal genius. He excelled not only in sculpture, painting, and architecture, but was likewise an engineer and scientist of the first rank. His mind grappled with the problems of aviation and submarine navigation which have been solved only in our own day. Raphael was less universal, but is recognized as the greatest painter of all time. His madonnas have been universally admired ever since they were produced. His talent not only charmed an appreciative world by its wonderful creations, but also advanced the progress of painting by the lessons it imparted to numerous disciples. Michelangelo belonged less to the fifteenth than to the sixteenth century, but, as an artist, he is too typical of the Renaissance not to be mentioned here. Inferior as a scientist to Leonardo da Vinci, he surpassed him as a poet and was a genius at once in architecture, sculpture, and painting. His works in any one of these three arts would suffice to render his name forever memorable. He is generally acknowledged as one of the greatest artists not only of the Renaissance, but of all ages.

337. Results of the Renaissance.—The Renaissance affected not only the age in which it occurred, but all subsequent centuries. It was, in fact, a rebirth of the intellectual life of mankind. The admiration and love for antiquity, which characterized it, saved to the world many priceless literary and artistic remains of the flourishing days of Greece and Rome. The legion of talented men who illustrated it produced numerous masterpieces in literature and art. But not content with enthusiasm for the dead past, the Renaissance also cultivated and put in honor an appreciation for the living present, for the beauties of nature. It was impressed by imposing scenery and picturesque landscapes and did not think it amiss to devote its talent to the description of natural phenomena. This

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sentiment for the true and real also manifested itself in the attitude of scholars toward literary remains. They attempted to sift the authentic and genuine from the unauthentic and spurious. The science of historical criticism was thus introduced and led to the rejection of fabulous narratives or fictitious documents foisted on an excessively credulous medieval public.

But the Renaissance also had its dark side. The admiration of some of its scholars extended unfortunately to everything pagan, to pagan religion and pagan corruption as well as to pagan scholarship. Many Humanists threw to the winds the Christian principles and practises in which they had been brought up and lived frivolous and immoral lives. The passion for antiquity intoxicated them; beauty instead of duty became for them the standard and law of life. In their eyes man seemed to have been created exclusively for pleasure and enjoyment. Amusement, renown, literary fame were the ideals which they pursued to the exclusion of all other aim. Even the papacy and the Roman ecclesiastical world did not remain immune from this false estimate of human values. Popes and ecclesiastics paid their tribute to worldliness and corruption. If the succeeding age was one of disaffection and rejection of papal authority, the evils attendant upon the Renaissance were partly responsible for the breaking up of Catholic unity.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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64. St. Gregory I, 590–604
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75. St. Eugene I, 654–57
76. St. Vitalian, 657–72
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*Conrad III, 1138–52
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*Lewis of Bavaria, 1314–47
*Frederic of Austria, 1314–30
Charles IV of Bohemia, 1347–78
*Wenceslaus of Bohemia, 1378–1400
*Rupert of the Palatinate, 1400–10
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[1]The asterisk before a name indicates that the king was never crowned emperor.

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